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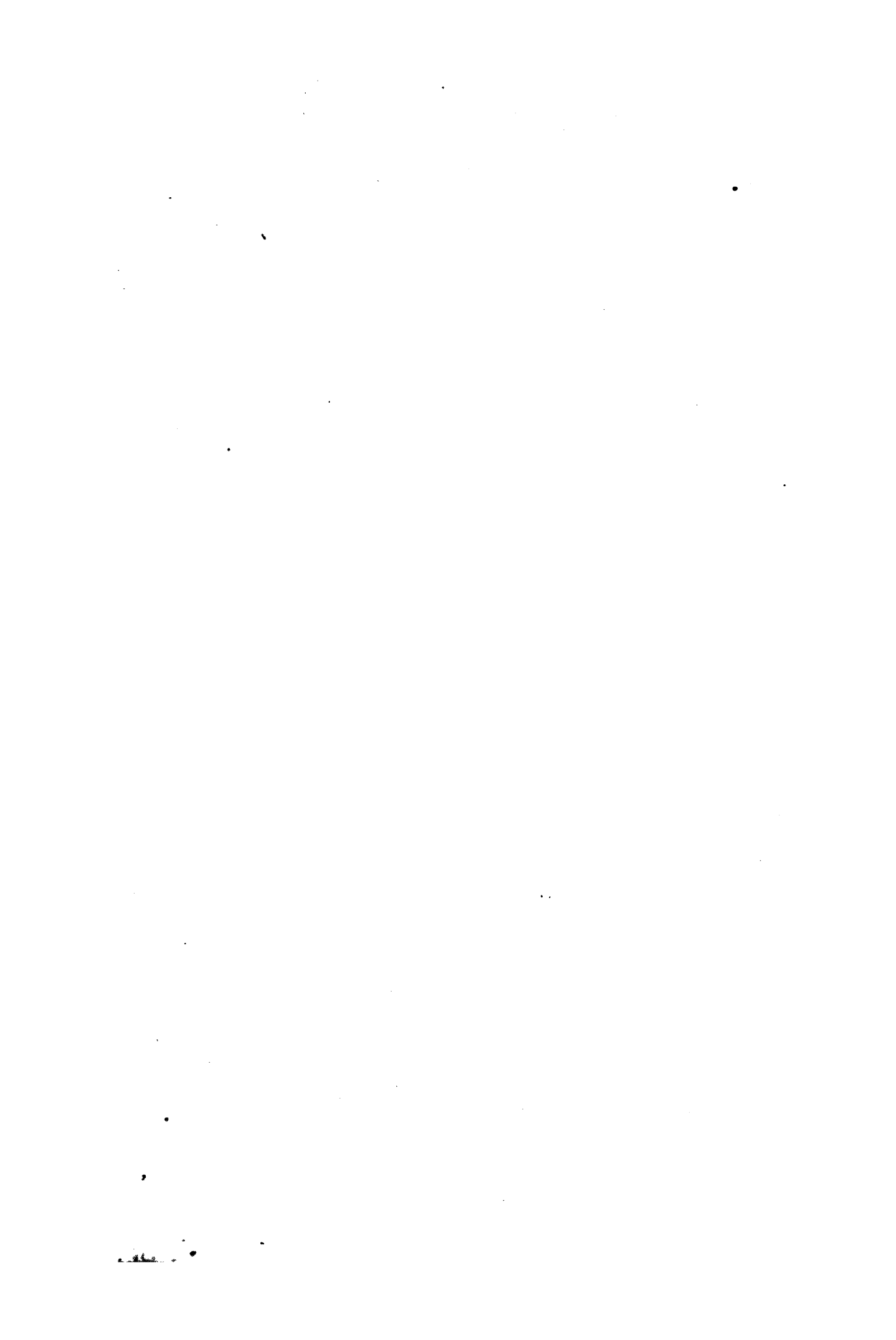
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A VISIT
TO THE
INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO,
IN H. M. SHIP MÆANDER.



⊙

A VISIT
TO THE
INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO,

IN H. M. SHIP MÆANDER.

WITH
PORTIONS OF THE PRIVATE JOURNAL OF SIR JAMES BROOKE, K.C.B.

BY
CAPT^N. THE HON. HENRY KEPPEL, R.N.

—•—
WITH ILLUSTRATIONS BY OSWALD W. BRIERLEY.

—•—
"Where things familiar cease, and strange begin."
—•—

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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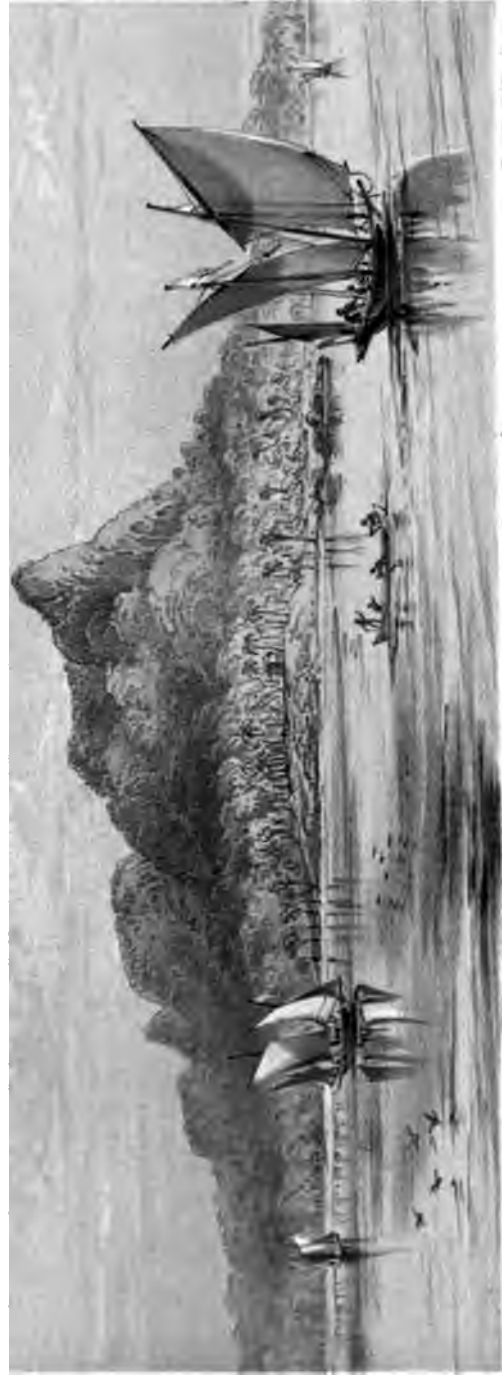


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A VISIT
TO
THE INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO.

CHAPTER XV.

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I HAVE been holding forth now for several chapters, on the quarter-deck of the *Mæander*, while she was on her way from Labuan to Sincapore.

By the time she arrived off the Serebas, no traces were to be seen of the events which I have narrated.

On the 31st of August, 1849, we anchored off the coast of Borneo; and, sending a gig to Sarāwak for information, we despatched the remaining boats, equipped for service, up the Batang Lupar, where they found the *Royalist* keeping guard at the mouth of the Linga, to

prevent any of the pirates getting up to the habitations of the Dyaks in that neighbourhood, during the absence of their warriors in attendance on the Rajah. From the *Royalist* we heard what had taken place, and that the Linga fleet had passed up on their way home rejoicing.

Captain Farquhar with the Rajah had been some days up the Rejang, and was daily expected back. Having supplied the *Royalist* with provisions, we proceeded on our way to Sincapore, not very well pleased at having arrived after the operations were over.

Before leaving the coast, I may as well give a short account of the then state of things at Sarāwak.

I have already referred to the reasons which first induced Sir James Brooke to accept the Rajahship ; it has been seen how he entered upon the organisation of a refractory or distressed population of about 8000 souls, taking to his assistance the leading rebel chiefs. Sarāwak or "Kuching," as it was then called, was a village. By internal war the bonds of society had been loosened ; the Dyaks driven into the jungle. Government was at an end ; rapine and crime of all kinds were of daily occurrence ;—trade was literally extinct.

After ten years, we find Sir James Brooke the most powerful Rajah in the Eastern Archipelago. The city of Sarāwak can no longer be seen at one view ; it has extended for miles, and now occupies several reaches of the river. The population exceeds forty-five thousand. A fort, formidable from its commanding position, a Protestant

church, and a Mahomedan mosque, are the principal objects which first attract the eye. As you advance up the river, after passing the suburbs containing the villa residences of the Europeans, you see the Court House, from which even-handed justice is dispensed without the interference of lawyers.

Higher still you come to large sheds, where numerous prahus are building for—at last—trading purposes only. Shops containing goods open to the inspection of the passer-by—a thing unknown in any other native state of the Archipelago—are here to be seen.

The missionary church of St. Thomas has since been consecrated by the Bishop of Calcutta, in 1850; and divine service is performed there twice a day, in English or Malay, by the missionaries—thanks to the exertions of that most indefatigable and zealous churchman, the Rev. Francis McDougall. This gentleman contrives, in addition to the active exercise of his sacred calling, to confer on the community the great benefit of his gratuitous services as a scientific surgeon.

The strict morality of his conduct, added to the above claims on their respect and gratitude, has impressed the natives with a veneration for him little inferior to that which they feel for the Rajah himself.

Attached to the church is a school, to the management of which Mrs. McDougall devotes her valuable time: it numbers already twenty-five Dyak and Chinese children.

I may here appropriately subjoin a letter written by the Bishop of Calcutta after his visit to Sarāwak ; we are not answerable for a Bishop's idea of "unexampled heroism ;" nor for other little slips of enthusiasm : on all important points it gives a picture as true as it is interesting to the Christian world. It is dated January 24, 1851 :—

"I have spent four days at Sarāwak. I have consecrated the church, according to the request of the diocesan, the Lord Bishop of London. I have inspected the state of the infant mission, and conferred fully with the indefatigable and zealous chaplain and missionary, the Rev. F. McDougall. I have conversed also with the gentry, and have read the several works published on the events which have occurred in the last few years. It is my full persuasion that there is *no mission on the face* of the earth to be compared with that of Borneo. It has been thrown open to Christian enterprise almost by miracle. One of the darkest recesses of heathen ignorance, cruelty, and desolation, where piracy, and murder, and conflagration, and head-hunting, stalked abroad in open day, and the aboriginal inhabitants were in the sure way of being exterminated utterly, is now, so to speak, *like the paradise of God*. Deliverance has been proclaimed—security of person and property, equal rights, an enlightened and paternal distributive justice, the arts of life, an extending commerce, are already established at Sarāwak, and spreading along the whole western coast of Borneo. The Chinese sea is free from marauders, and all Europe and America

may pursue their peaceful occupations from Singapore to Labuan, 700 miles. The Christian mission is begun, to sanctify and adorn all these secular blessings. Two things, quite unexampled, favour the design :—1st. Englishmen have first become known to the oppressed Dyaks by a single English gentleman of benevolence, talent, and singular wisdom, and tact of government, who has received, as a token of gratitude from the native princes, a tract of land, *about seventy miles by fifty*, as his own territory. To the benefit of the inhabitants of it, this gentleman, who is now recognised as the Rajah of Sarāwak, is devoting his time, his fortune, his zeal, his health, his body, and soul. The noble Government of our honoured and beloved Queen Victoria at home has come forward with her admirals and brave captains, to assist in reducing the pirates who infested the coast to silence and tranquillity, by deeds of almost unexampled heroism. The last engagement with the pirates, about a year and a half since, when 120 war boats, with 2,000 bandits, were intercepted in the very act of plundering and setting fire to villages, seizing native vessels, and murdering their crews, has humbled and alarmed the whole tribe, and the chiefs are *sending messages to Sarāwak*, promising to turn themselves to honest occupations. In the meantime, the population of the town has increased, in nine years, from 1,500 to 12,000 souls, and, including the whole territory, to 30,000. The peace thus established, like that of the Roman empire at the Incarnation of our Lord, prepares for the Gospel,

renders the diffusion of it practicable, and calls imperatively on the Christian Church at home to seize with eagerness the occasion, to which nothing parallel has perhaps ever occurred. The second peculiarly favourable circumstance is that the poor Dyaks have no religion of their own, scarcely a notion of a deity, no Mahomedan obstinacy, no Hindoo castes, no priesthood, no written book—no Koran, no Veda ; and are led by a strong feeling of gratitude for a deliverance from a worse than Egyptian bondage, to place unbounded confidence in the truth and disinterestedness of the Rajah, and to solicit instruction in his religion, and to follow the habits of the white people.

“ In truth, when I stood on the hill on which the church is erected, and viewed the subjacent town stretched on the river's bank, and viewed the mission-house and school on the College Hill, which crowned the opposite shore, I could not but break out into thanksgiving to the God of all grace for His wonderful works ; and during the solemn service of consecration, I looked with amazement at the neat wooden edifice, with its early English arches, its nave, 70 feet by 22, and 25 high, its side aisles, its handsome communion-plate placed on the holy table, and its Christian congregation—forty-three (of whom eleven were Dyak and Chinese school children, seated in the aisle), and when I assisted in administering the blessed supper to nineteen communicants, besides the clergy, my heart was almost too full to proceed. Will England, then, fail to support the work thus prosperously begun ? Impossible ! it is not in the manners

of our Christian Britain to forget she was herself, 1400 years ago, in as low a state of barbarism as the Dyaks, infested with *European pirates*, as they with *Asiatics*. No, she is well aware that what the Gospel has done for England it can do for Borneo.

“D. CALCUTTA.”

I believe that every reader of good taste will thank me for reminding him of the following beautiful lines, so applicable to the chief subject of the above letter, and to its venerable and eminently Christian writer :—

“ With furrow'd brow, and cheek serenely fair,
 The calm wind wand'ring o'er his silver hair,
 His arm uplifted, and his moisten'd eye
 Fix'd in deep rapture on the golden sky,
 Upon the shore, through many a billow driven,
 He kneels at last, the Messenger of Heaven !
 Long years, that rank the mighty with the weak,
 Have dimm'd the flush upon his faded cheek,
 And many a dew, and many a noxious damp,
 The daily labour, and the nightly lamp,
 Have snatch'd away, for ever snatch'd from him,
 The liquid accent and the buoyant limb ;
 Yet still within him aspirations swell,
 Which time corrupts not, sorrow cannot quell :
 The changeless ZENAL, which on, from land to land,
 Speeds the faint foot, and nerves the wither'd hand,
 And the mild CHARITY, which, day by day,
 Weeps ev'ry wound and ev'ry stain away,
 Rears the young bud on ev'ry blighted stem,
 And longs to comfort, where she must condemn.
 With these, through storms, and bitterness, and wrath,
 In peace and pow'r he holds his onward path,
 Curbs the fierce soul, and sheathes the murd'rous steel,
 And calms the passions he hath ceas'd to feel.
 “ Yes ! he hath triumph'd !—while his lips relate
 The sacred story of his SAVIOUR's fate,
 While to the search of that tumultuous horde
 He opens wide the EVERLASTING WORD,

And bids the soul drink deep of wisdom there,
 In fond devotion, and in fervent pray'r—
 In speechless awe the wonder-stricken throng
 Check their rude feasting and their barb'rous song :
 Around his steps the gathering myriads crowd,
 The chief, the slave, the timid and the proud ;
 Of various features, and of various dress,
 Like their own forest-leaves, confus'd and numberless.
 " Where shall *your* temples, where *your* worship be,
 Gods of the air, and Rulers of the sea ?
 In the glad dawning of a kinder light,
 Your blind adorer quits your gloomy rite,
 And kneels in gladness on his native plain,
 A happier votary at a holier fane."

An hospital, erected at the Rajah's expense, has likewise been established, under the superintendence of Mr. McDougall.

In the jungle, a family of Malays are no longer under the necessity of following one another in a line, the last child of a string not being within hail of its leading parent ; but they may now walk and converse together along good roads, and may, if they please, communicate with different parts of the town otherwise than by boats. So strong, however, is the effect of habit, that I cannot recollect ever to have met, even along the excellent roads of Singapore, a party of Malays who were not following one another in single file, as carefully as if threading their way along a narrow jungle path.

The Court-house is not distinguished for its architectural beauty ; and the Court itself is held on the ground-floor of a building, the upper apartments of which are used as offices for the conduct of the public business. Nothing can be simpler than the ordinary proceedings of justice.

Lounging into the Court during the progress of an interesting trial, I was struck at the same time by the absence of ceremony, and the great interest exhibited by the spectators. Opposite to the entrance was placed a round table, at the further part of which were seated, first the Rajah, and on either side of him the individuals native and European, six or eight in number, whom—for want of an exactly appropriate designation—I may call the judges; and they may be said to constitute the jury likewise. In front of this table, seated on a mat-covered floor, was the prisoner; and on one side was a witness giving his evidence. Around the whole Court were benches, on which Malays, Dyaks, Chinese, were seated indiscriminately; and those who could find no place on the raised seats were content to listen cross-legged on the floor, or to stand at the large open windows of the verandah surrounding the building. I was honoured with a seat amongst the judges, but understood little or nothing of the proceedings, which were conducted in the Malayan language.

One judge or another examined witness after witness, each of whom was introduced by my old acquaintance Subu, who has been long a faithful follower of the Rajah, and now fills several places of minor importance about the Court,—among the rest that of public executioner, which, however, is almost a sinecure.

The case for the prosecution having closed, the prisoner, an interesting-looking young Malay, was called upon for his defence. He told his story in a quiet but not inanimate

way ; called his witnesses ; and one or two of his friends in the Court pleaded for him on particular points. When this had lasted nearly an hour, there was a consultation amongst the judges ; and my old friend Patingue Gapour (one of the judges) read a long argument to the Court. He was followed by the Bandar (another judge) who made a few remarks ; then, after an observation or two from the other judges, the Rajah summed up, and pronounced the acquittal of the prisoner, whom I understood to have been tried for being found in another man's dwelling-house at night. The trial having been concluded, a general conversation ensued ; and the Court broke up with the same absence of ceremony as had marked its assembling.

The proceedings exhibited a quiet decorum, and owed none of their dignity to outward ostentation, either in respect of dress or otherwise.

It may not be uninteresting to my readers, if I introduce a few cases extracted from the Court Records kept on the spot.

STEALING BEE-HIVES.

“ Quop Dyaks v. Bombak Dyaks.”

“ The Orang Kaya of the Quop complains of the Bombak Dyaks for stealing his bee-hives from the Tappang trees.

“ Judgment for the complainants.

“ The Bombak Dyaks to pay thirty cutties of wax, or thirty passes of padi.”

N.B. When about to take the wax from the trees, the Dyak, before climbing up, lights a fire, which attracts the bees. The Dyak says the bees mistake the fire for gold, and come down to possess themselves of the treasure.

RIGHT TO TREES.

“Dispute between the people of Samarahan and the Dyaks of Sibuyow about the right to certain Tappang Trees in Samarahan.”

“It appears that the Dyaks of Sibuyow settled in the Samarahan River several generations ago ; and both parties have since been in the habit of taking the comb from the trees. At first each party collected what they could, without jealousy or disputes ; but at length arose a competition between them, and each endeavoured to get the lion’s share either by stealth or force.

“During the prevalence of bad government, neither party cared much for the Tappangs, as the parties who got the wax were obliged to give the greater part of it to Sheriff Sahibe, and incurred great risk of being fined by him on suspicion of concealment.

“The property having become valuable, the parties now appealed to the Court for a settlement of the question.

“The people of Samarahan were doubtless originally proprietors of the trees ; but their ancestors, of free-will, gave the Sibuyows a settlement and a right, which have existed for probably a hundred years. It is confessed by both parties that the Sibuyows paid something for the

settlement, but what rights were to be included in consideration of the payment cannot now be shown.

“The decision was, that the Sibuyows shall be the possessors of the Tappang trees below the junction, thus giving the original inhabitants nearly two-thirds of the ground and of the trees.”

RUNAWAY SLAVES.

“*Slaves belonging to the sérail of Millanao ran away to Lundu. Feb. 25th, 1846.*”—

“The slaves were sixteen in number.

Si Bugin, wife Si Klangote, and two children.

Sajar, wife Rubin, and two children.

Marali, wife Sili.

Si Gajit, wife Rubin, and three children.

Si Rajah woman.

“These slaves were valued by the Court at 397 reals—the value paid by the Rajah, and the slaves declared free.”

“The Court also gave notice, that in future, all slaves running away from any other country to Sarāwak should be declared free.”

ANOTHER SLAVE QUESTION.

“*Si Bain, a Kanowit woman, claimed as a slave by Summut, a Serebas man.*”

“The Court said it was proved in evidence that Si Bain was made captive by the Serebas Dyaks in her youth ;

that, after passing through several hands, some ten years ago she was sold to Summut, ran away from him, resided eight years as a free woman in Seriki, and thence of her own will removed to Sarāwak with her husband.

•“ It would be easy to decide this case, had it not a reference to the institution of slavery, which holds in native states.

“ The woman was a free woman by birth, captured by pirates, and wrongfully reduced to slavery, and as a slave sold and re-sold.

“ It is clear that a person wrongfully reduced to the condition of a slave, can never be considered a slave, though by force detained in that state. What is originally wrong can never become right; and a free person seized and sold into captivity by pirates, can under no circumstances whatever be considered a slave. This woman is, therefore, free, and even under the worst institution of slavery could not be regarded as a slave; but in her case, her supposed owner or claimant and herself both seek refuge and safety in Sarāwak; and such a claim cannot by any native law be raised by Summut, who at the time of the occurrence was a pirate himself, and living in a hostile community.

“ The Court, therefore decided Si Bain to be a free woman in the fullest sense; and Summut must bear his loss; and consider himself a fortunate man in escaping the consequences of his former errors.

“ The Court considered all persons under its protection

who sought refuge in Sarāwak ; but it made no distinction between the escaped slave and the fugitive pirate.

“ Si Bain is now placed on the records as a free woman.”

“ *Wasahat, a Bugis Nakodah (sea-captain) brings a charge against another Bugis Nakodah, for running into debt and then cutting him down with a sword, and nearly killing him, when asked for payment.*”

“ This occurred at Lingtang, in the Kaluka, three years ago, during the lifetime and government of Tuan Molāna.

“ The Court said,—‘ It appears, as far as the Court had heard, that the Bugis Nakodah (name unknown) was indebted to Wasahat thirty reals and six sukus, for tobacco and other goods ; that being pressed for payment he, with another man named Sali, attacked the complainant Wasahat, and another Bugis named Mahomed. Sali killed Mahomed ; and the Bugis Nakodah cut down Wasahat, and gave him severe and dangerous wounds. Sali (a man of inferior condition) was put to death by Tuan Molana, for the murder of Mahomed, and the Nakodah Bugis was allowed to escape all punishment for his crime, and to evade the payment of his just debts.

“ ‘ The Court regretted that it possessed no jurisdiction in this case, as the crime was committed in a distant country, and under a different government ; and no Sarāwak subject was in any way concerned. The Court regretted this want of jurisdiction ; for it was evident that a crime had been committed, and a great wrong done.

Supposing the fact to be as stated, the Nakodah Bugis would have suffered death under the law of Sarāwak ; for he was a direct party to the murder of Mahomed, and had severely wounded Wasahat in the same fray. The Court, in recording its opinion, was anxious to obtain such justice and relief for the complainant as lay in its power ; and would, therefore, summon the Nakodah Bugis, and refer the case, with a strong representation, to the Native Government of Kaluka.’ ”

ASSAULT.

“ Si Lumma, a woman, v. the Wife of Usop, and other women, for an assault.”

“ The circumstances of this case of an assault of an aggravated nature are simple and clear, and allowed by Si Usop the husband of the defendant, in whose house it occurred.

“ The Court need not enter into the feelings of jealousy which gave rise to the assault. The assault itself is sufficient ; as Si Summa was decoyed into Usop’s house, and there set upon by Usop’s wife, and beaten and abused. The offence is not only against Si Summa, but a breach of the peace ; and calculated to promote a serious riot. Had men interfered, weapons in all probability would have been drawn, and blood shed.

“ The Court must repeat on every occasion—must impress it on the mind of every one—that no private

individual can take the law into his or her hands. Justice is daily administered ; and no angry passions find their way within these walls. The woman Si Summa has been misused, and the public peace broken ; therefore the defendants are condemned to pay the usual fine of thirty reals and three sukus, or, in common parlance, thirty and three."

DESTROYING TREES.

"Nidor, Tajou, and others, v. Mamat, Batak, and others."

"The plaintiffs and defendant are relations in the third degree ; and their common great-grandfather having planted some Durian trees on the bank of the river, they (the trees) have, in the loose manner in which property descends, become the property of the planter's descendants, now amounting to about fifty persons.

"The present case before the Court arises from Nidor and Tajou having taken the unripe fruit from the trees, and the defendants having, in consequence, cut down two of the trees from spite.

"The Court, having gone at some length into the case, does not purpose to pass any sentence on the defendants, but prefers pointing out to the parties before it the evil consequences of this contention, and fixing for a similar offence a fine, in future, of thirty and three.

"No good can result from the destruction of property ; and many ways might be suggested of sharing or dividing it ; but the offence consists in the serious breach of the

peace likely to ensue, from the passions which must be roused by parties taking the law into their own hands.

“The Court, having fixed the future fine for this offence, recommends a reconciliation to the parties now before it, and wishes the present decision to be made as public as possible, for the guidance of other persons holding property in common.”

FEUD.

Puttong Dyaks v. Sow, Gombong, and other Dyak Tribes.

“The Sow and other tribes made an incursion into the Puttong country, and killed eighteen persons.

“The case was not denied.

“The Court now, for the first time, has heard that such a tribe as Puttong existed. The defendants alone are subjects of Sarāwak ; but the Court, overlooking many formalities (such for instance as the crime being committed without the jurisdiction of the Court), is bound to afford protection to the injured, and to punish the offenders. The Court in doing so, however, must make some allowance for the situation, customs, and feelings of the parties, who live in a state of society so entirely different from that of Europe.

“A feud existed, it is true, between these tribes, and the tribe now complaining would retaliate against the offenders if they had power and opportunity.

“The feud was of long standing ; the custom imme-

morial ; and therefore, in reason, the Court cannot judge a body of rude savages—men who have only killed their enemies—in the same manner as it would treat a number of English murderers. The moral standard by which the savage is to be judged, in such a case, is different from that to be applied to civilised and Christian men, and it is only by gradually making the distinctions between virtue and vice more apparent, by gradually introducing severe punishments for great crimes, now esteemed honourable, by gradually purifying the savage perception of morality, that barbarous and brutal customs can be abolished, and savage tribes be forced to look upwards to the power of a restraining government.

“ If the Court viewed this crime by the light of the Christian religion, or by the law of civilised Europe, it could entertain no doubt of the sentence to be delivered ; but it does not regard this crime in so heinous a point of view, for the reasons just given, and will, therefore, content itself by inflicting a fine on the offenders, and warn them of the danger of following out their customs in defiance of the prohibition of Government.

“ Such a custom is not only extremely barbarous, but it is contrary to that obedience which they owe to the Government ; it is opposed to the security of life and property, which has reigned for five years, and which must be maintained by all good men of all nations.

“ The Court, in fining the Dyaks of Sow concerned in the incursion, and their companions, must inflict a fine far

higher than would be required by the customs of the Dyaks, and therefore decrees that they pay eleven Tatawaks to the men of Puttong ; and the Court warns all the Dyaks (especially Nimok, who headed this party), that a recurrence of this offence—this great crime—will be in future treated with the utmost severity ; for it will be in direct defiance of the power of the Government, and the decision of this Court.

“ For four years past this crime has been unknown, and it must be punished in future with such a stern justice as shall deter other men from its commission. No man can be allowed to retaliate injury on his fellow-men ; no petty feuds can be allowed to lead to bloodshed and insecurity ; and all must alike appeal to this Court for the protection of person and of property, and for the punishment of guilt.

“ The Puttong Dyaks are to receive the fine, and return to their own country.”

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

Ayer Siti v. Matyhim.

“ The Court after a long investigation of the case, and appealing for evidence to the chiefs and the best-informed men, on the customs regarding marriage, decided as follows.

“ The Court has rarely to decide on questions of marriage or divorce, which are usually settled by the Datus, accord-

ing to the custom of the country and the precepts of the Koran. The case under consideration has been brought here, because it has been found impossible to settle it in the usual manner, and because some ill-feeling has arisen in consequence.

“The case is clear. Matyhim marries at Sirhassan, with the consent of Ayer Siti, the father of his wife, and the consent of Hadji Ahat, his own father; he brings his young wife to Sarāwak, lives with her for a year; at the end of which time her father, Ayer Siti, carries her and her child to their own country. Matyhim, the husband, after a year or more of separation from his wife, refusing to reside at Sirhassan, and his wife not returning to Sarāwak, repudiates her, in the customary manner of the country, and of most countries in this part of the world.

“The present case arises from the claim to one-third of Matyhim’s (the defendant’s) property, at the time of his marriage, which is stated to be the custom of Sarāwak; against which it is alleged, on the other side, that the uniform custom of Sirhassan is that a year’s absence dissolves the marriage tie. The Court alludes to these customs; but it cannot be guided by them, because there is no evidence of what the property of Matyhim was at the time of his marriage, and because it is beyond dispute that the actual separation was on the wife’s part.

“The Court, therefore, decrees that Matyhim shall only pay the usual sum of thirty and three, which is established by custom in every case of divorce.

“The Court strongly points out to the Datus, the Imaum Belal, and the Abang Abangs of the country, the necessity of their consulting together, and fixing the laws of marriage and divorce. At the present moment they are not only confused and uncertain, but unfitted to the state of society, as many respectable persons have this day stated. As men grow rich, they will not part with a third of their whole property on occasions of divorce. Let the laws on these subjects be made clear, and fully made public; and the Court will then carry them out, if there be a necessity to appeal to it again.”

MARRIAGE AND SLAVERY.

Ipa v. Hadji Subudeen.

“The Court having gone at great length into this case, decides that the woman Ipa and her two children are free persons,—as free as any other persons in the country.

“It appears without contradiction that this woman was unjustly sold (the Court passes over this circumstance, as having occurred many years ago) to Nakodah Jaffer, whose concubine she became, and by whom she bore two children. Nakodah Jaffer, it further appears, owed a debt of seventy reals to Hamady Rajah; and at his death, there being no property, this woman and her children were

made over by Puti (the deceased's son by another woman), to the creditor, who sold them to the defendant Hadji Subudeen.

“By every law of this country, the woman and her children are free, in consequence of her having been the concubine of her master, and having borne children by him; and should the debt be a *boná fide* debt, and the relations of Nakodah Jaffer responsible for it, it must be equitably discharged.

“The woman and her children are pronounced free, and are at full liberty.”

KILLING PIGS.

Incas v. Inche Mannan.

“The Court having inquired into the above case, at length decided that Inche Mannan was greatly in fault for having killed the pigs of Incas.

“It appeared that Incas had been living more than three years previous to Inche Mannan's arrival at Pankalan Sant; and on his wishing to make a farm and garden near the Dyak Campong, Incas tried to dissuade him, but in vain. The Dyak pigs found their way to the garden, and destroyed the sugar-canes, &c.; Inche Mannan not having fenced it in.

“Had defendant been living there before complainant,

the case would have been different ; but, as it was, and it being also the custom of the Dyaks to allow their pigs to run about at large, the Court decided the Inche Mannan should pay Incas the value of the pigs, or return them in kind.

STABBING.

The Court v. Karim (a Javanese) for stabbing the Jemedar of the Fort.

“ The Court having heard the evidence, feels no hesitation in acquitting the prisoner, on the plea that, at the time the crime was committed, he was labouring under a temporary delirium, caused by fever.

“ The only question is whether the man was a responsible creature at the period ; and as the evidence is clear that he was suffering from violent fever, and as the witnesses had remarked a change (or wildness) in the expression of his eyes, and as the most conclusive testimony is given that no cause existed for committing the crime, and no shadow of ill-feeling on the part of the prisoner to the wounded man—the Court absolves Karim ; but in doing so it must recommend more care in future, when similar cases occur ; for with a Malay, accustomed to wear arms and living usually in a disturbed state of society, his weapon is resorted to in delirium, in the same manner as an Englishman would strike with his fist.

“ The Court however orders that Karim be sent to the

place from whence he recently arrived, not as a punishment for the offence, but as a precautionary measure.”

THEFT.

Wan Say, Seriff of Pontianak, and nephew of the Sultan of Pontianak.

“It appeared in evidence that the accused had recently arrived from Sincapore, and had not paid his passage money. That while at the house of Inche Naim, he subtracted a gold bracelet from among other ornaments belonging to Naim’s wife. The bracelet was found on his person, and identified by its owner. The prisoner had offered to pledge it. The prisoner allowed that he had taken it, but said it was done in fun ; and he offered to pledge it also in fun.

“The Court, in sentencing the prisoner remarked on his high birth, and regretted that such a case should be brought before it. The higher the offender, the greater the shame ; but the shame was in the commission of crime, not in the discovery or trial. There were different degrees of guilt in theft, and likewise different degrees of punishment ; and the prisoner would suffer from shame and loss of character.

“The Court therefore sentenced him to be confined, till an opportunity occurred of sending him back to the place from whence he came.”

SLAVE CASE.

Wan Mat v. Pangeran Jidat.

“ For selling Wan Mat’s slave and her children.

“ The right to Meliah and his five children was the point in dispute between the two parties.

“ After a lengthened hearing, it appeared that Meliah was the daughter of a slave, and married to Sedit, who was likewise stated to be a slave ; and by this marriage there were five children, all grown up. Sedit, it was shown in evidence, was originally a free man (being of Kaluka) and had been reduced to slavery under the following circumstances :—

“ The grandfather of the present Sultan of Brunè, about thirty or thirty-five years ago, demanded a prahu of Pangeran Jidat ; but Hadji Marsalla, the person bringing the order, having nothing to pay for her, ordered (in the Sultan’s name) the ministers of Kaluka to give four free men as slaves to Pangeran Jidat, as the price of the prahu.

“ Amongst these free men, thus reduced to slavery, was Sedit, who was married at the time to Meliah ; and ever since both he and his wife and family have been in the position of slaves with Pangeran Jidat.”

DECISION OF COURT.

“ The Court has listened with great attention to this intricate case, and with a sincere desire to arrive

at a right conclusion, and to do justice to both parties.

“The Court must decide this case within certain limits ; as it is known that the Government of Sarāwak, since the day it was established, has held as a principle that it is not competent for this Court to open cases which occurred in former years, nor to set right the wrongs committed by former Governments. Meliah, it is shown, has been a slave for the last thirty or thirty-five years to Pangeran Jidat ; and this right of possession, so clearly proved, the Court cannot, on the principle laid down, infringe.

“The case of Sidit was different : it was allowed on all hands that he was a free man ; it was not clearly shown how he was made a slave ; and great was the guilt of those, according to the religion of the country and the sense of right in every man’s bosom, who reduced a free man to the condition of a slave.

“The Court, therefore, with some hesitation, but with a desire to do right, decides that Sidit is a free man.

“There still remains to decide the future state of the five children ; and, according to custom, the offspring of a marriage between a free man and a slave woman should be half free and half slaves ; but—bearing this in mind, and leaning as the Court does to the side of freedom—the Court must decide against the claims of the children. The father is reduced to slavery, and, in fact, has been a slave for thirty or thirty-five years ; and the mother—to whomsoever she may have originally belonged—was

undoubtedly the slave of slaves, and the children have been brought up in the same manner and condition.

“The Court therefore, regarding the original freedom of Sidit, declares him a free man ; but decides that Meliah and all her children by the union with Sidit are slaves.”

DEPOSIT.

Si Leh v. Inche Kassan.

“Si Leh deposited $5\frac{1}{2}$ amas of gold as a pledge, on borrowing three reals.

“One man and his wife declared there was no agreement for interest, nor penalty attached to the pledge ; the other man and his wife, that the gold was to be forfeited, if not redeemed within a month.

“The Court observed that there was nothing to guide the decision ; and it should therefore decide as appeared most just to both parties.

“The want of an agreement vitiated any claim to the forfeiture of the whole pledge ; but it was right that something should be paid for the convenience, and for the risk run by defendant of fire or robbery, whilst the property remained in his hands. It appeared, too, that Kassan had himself borrowed the money.

“The Court, without going minutely into the matter, decreed that defendant should restore the gold, on receiving back the three reals and one real extra, for the use of the money and risk run.

“Parties ought to be careful in cases of this sort to have a written agreement, or a verbal one before witnesses.”

It is possible that some of my readers may not find equal *amusement* with myself in the Court Records of Sarāwak ; but none will deny that they disclose a very extraordinary achievement of individual energy, influence, and character. The particular cases given were selected by me at random from a large mass of similar entries, of which I copied such as were most legible. They are written both in the Malayan and the English languages. The Rajah pronounces judgment in the Malayan, and the proceedings and sentence are recorded in the English language. The circumstances under which this book has reached its present bulk, while they must engage the highest sympathies of the Christian and the philanthropist, offer even to the statesman and the political economist no contemptible study of mankind. I am not anxious to set up Sir James Brooke as a wonderful hero : exaggerated pretensions on his behalf would be little in keeping with his character : but I *may* say that such *are* the characters which, in some respects most resemble, and in others surpass, the vaunted heroes of antiquity. Of *them* it is suggested by the historian of Greece, that while they were no more than men, they were men of a spirit and sentiment immeasurably above their generation ; which spirit and sentiment instigated them “ to devote themselves to toil and danger, for the service

of mankind, and for the acquisition of an honest fame : opposing oppression, and relieving the oppressed, wherever such were to be found ; and bearing the sword of universal justice, while Governments were yet too weak to wield it.”

If, by individuals appearing once an age in modern times—such as, I will say, a *Raffles* or a *Brooke*—those deeds of the classic giant be emulated with *nobler weapons*—with the sword of Wisdom, the sword of Intelligence, and, above all, the sword of the Spirit—is the hero of conquests thus achieved, less a hero ? Not so,—even according to the above description : but I claim no particular *title* for such men. I state facts from which, if any have had their opinions unsettled by plausible misrepresentations, they may for themselves accurately decide the appropriate title of my friend, and the appropriate titles of his accusers.

I will conclude this Chapter, and this subject, with a brief, and therefore necessarily incomplete summary of the results of Sir James Brooke’s policy and principles, as carried out since he became Rajah of Sarāwak : and I do so, not so much to accumulate vindications of my friend, as to help to set the light of his example on a candlestick, for the encouragement of other *Brookes* that may be yet to come.

The results to CHRISTIANITY—to the cause of the GOSPEL, and thereby to the *highest* interests of mankind, may be sufficiently inferred from what I have said in an earlier part of this Chapter, from the unquestionable

testimony of the Bishop of Calcutta : this, however, is now confirmed by a communication kindly made to me even while revising this printed sheet, by the Rev. F. McDougall. It touches also on general subjects, and shall come presently.

The MORAL and SOCIAL results will require little exposition, with those who shall have read my extracts from the *Court Records*. The sum is this—that a few years ago an Englishman landed on a corner of a vast Oriental continent, the greater part of which still is, as the whole then was, in a state of barbarism. That (by means which *also* are now misrepresented, but which a word or two of truth shall presently vindicate) he became the ruler of a province in which the only law was force : all questions were decided, all difficulties adjusted by the “*kris*,” or sword.

“ More ferarum,
Viribus editior cædebat, ut in grege taurus.”

Disputes were all to brutal force referr'd,
And man rul'd man, as bulls o'errule the herd.

Well ! within a few weeks of the stranger's “*usurpation*,” a code of laws is promulgated based on the best legal principles of the best governed country of the civilised world ; but adapted also to the state and character of a peculiar people ; divested of jargon ; prepossessing by its simplicity and common sense. This code speaks for itself to an intelligent, though untaught, race of native rulers ; they adopt it heartily ; they associate themselves

with their foreign benefactor in its administration ; they sacrifice to him the prejudices and the habits of generations : mercy and justice, firmness and moderation, fix his authority in their affections, not their fears ; distant and strange tribes flock to him as the arbiter of *their* difficulties. What a source of influence is even thus acquired for the English name !

I invite the reader to another impartial glance at the court records of Sarāwak. Let him picture to himself this Englishman occupying his seat of justice, as I have before described him, surrounded by his native suitors confidently awaiting those decisions, which he delivers after a deferential consultation with their own native rulers, in a style which shows him a master of *their* language, as well as of the universal language of the heart. The right to a little bees-wax, or to a Tappang-tree is not beneath his adjudication ; the question of SLAVERY is not shunned by him ; he declares in the face of thousands, who have been accustomed to buy and sell their fellow-creatures, that, as the land of his birth emancipates the enslaved foot that touches it, so shall the land of his adoption. He assigns to murder its right name, though a chief be the murderer, and a poor fisherman the victim ; he utterly abolishes every barbarous and revolting custom ; he establishes so firmly the rule of reason and principle in the convictions of his people, that he is able to leave his government for months in the charge of a few trustworthy representatives, assured that the blessings he has planted shall conserve

themselves, and that religion and justice will continue to go hand-in-hand.

And he comes home to be put upon his defence as an assassin, a usurper, an impostor, a cheat, a mere trader !

The last word brings me to the next point which deserves attention. The COMMERCIAL development of Sarāwak under the same auspices has not been less remarkable than its political and social. Trade, which was absolutely nothing before Sir James Brooke's Government, has experienced a progressive increase—varying, however, with the thermometer of *Piracy*—until having in 1849 reached to nearly 2000 tons, it has in this year approached 25,000. This does not include the coasting trade carried on in small prahus, but only that with Singapore, the Dutch ports, &c. Many vessels—some of large tonnage, have been built or are building at Sarāwak.

Inseparably connected with the subject of COMMERCE is that of PIRACY ; and the benefits conferred in this respect alone on trade, humanity, and civilisation, through the instrumentality of Sir James Brooke, are immense, although it is not his fault that they are not greater. Trade and piracy may here be designated as reciprocally thermometers to each other. In 1842 terror reigned, and trade was nought. In 1844 the operations which I had the honour of directing restored peace to the coast ; trade revived, and made steady progress until 1848. By that time the pirates had forgotten their punishment ; they began to ravage the coasts ; trade declined. In 1849 they

resumed all their old atrocities, which would have utterly destroyed peaceful avocations ; but, after their defeat by Capt. Farquhar in July, the returns for the year reached 2,000 tons. The year 1850 shows 10,000 ; 1851, 15,000 ; 1852 already 22,000 tons. And let me observe that the Sarāwak river is not the richest, nor the most populous on the coast ; there are many others more productive, many equally so ; and therefore the question is not whether the Rajah of Sarāwak shall be left to a little pack who may hunt him down or not as they list, it being of no consequence to England generally ; but whether he be not in a position in which, for the sake of English commerce, it is of the greatest consequence to countenance and confide in him.

The entire POPULATION of Sarāwak has, under Sir James Brooke's government, risen from 8000 to 50,000.

Since the defeat of the pirates, in 1849, a most salutary *preventive* measure has been resorted to by Sir James Brooke, in the erection of two forts, which command the communication of the piratical rivers with the sea. One is at the junction of the Sakarran with the Batang Lupar. A flourishing town has already sprung up around this fort, which is called "Fort James." It is worthy of note, that this fort was built by *Sakarran* Malays and Dyaks,—lately pirates by compulsion, if not by choice. It is highly pleasing to them : its objects are to maintain the ascendancy of the chiefs disinclined to piracy ; to prevent the descent of pirate fleets ; to check intertribal feuds. *At the*

request of the Sakarrans, who desired to have a European resident among them, the native ruler, whom Sir James Brooke had at first appointed to that post, has been superseded by Mr. Brereton, who now holds that position at the will of the natives.

Within the last few days I have been favoured with the perusal of a very recent letter from the above gentleman, of whom I am proud as a Norfolk man, thus governing in what was lately the stronghold of piracy. It is addressed to his father, and dated from SAKARRAN, July, 1852. I avail myself of permission to print so much as is not of a private nature. It is valuable for its genuine and very fresh testimony as to the feelings cherished, even at this moment, by the *Sakarrans* towards the Rajah of Sarāwak.

“ I have read Mr. ——’s letter with much attention ; I should wish you to explain to him that, if I were alone here, and had only my own interest at heart, I should discard the *sword and pistol* as *repugnant to my feelings*, as they would be *injurious to my safety* ; but that I have nearly 2000 Malays, who have joined their fortunes to my own ; and I should have both my honour to them and my discretion doubted, if I did not take the necessary precautions by arming them and myself, in case an armed force from the country should challenge an exchange of blows—and who would *not*, in defence of their friends and home (putting aside a good cause) ? And again it must be remembered that this is the heart, the central spot

where piracy has prevailed for years ; from whence thousands yearly poured out to scour the high seas, whose hands were against every man's, and whose religion encourages murder. As I said before, if I were alone, I should discard arms as useless ; but, as head of a large community, I should be committing a greater crime, by not being prepared to meet on their own ground a people born and educated in the midst of strife and bloodshed. It will be pleasing to Mr. — to know that I have attained my present influence amongst these people, and the place has attained its present importance, without my having caused the death of a single individual, although I have been often obliged to present a musket. A firm attitude has accomplished this : but I have no hesitation in affirming that, if I had not been prepared, my own life, and that of all the Malays under me, would have been in danger. A dog will quarrel and bite, if his bone be taken away, and it is thus with the Dyaks with blood.

“ I must relate an affair which has just happened, to show Mr. — the present feeling that the Dyaks have towards me, acting for the Rajah ; and at the same time I consider it as one of the highest compliments that has yet been paid to the Rajah, coming as it does from the mouths of the very people, upon whose account the unjustifiable and acrimonious attacks have been made upon him by certain parties, boasting the name of Englishmen.

“ I have been sending different parties about the

country, to ascertain the number and situation of the various tribes in this country, who follow me ; and the following was the tenor of their discourse :—Their great fear was, ‘ that the Rajah would *give them up* ; they never were so happy before ; things were never so cheap ; they could go about the country without fear of crossing an enemy’s trail ; the Rajah was their SUN, their MOON,—their FATHER and MOTHER ; and that, if the Rajah would not receive their offerings of padi, he was going to give them up,—they would bring it down themselves, or take it to Sarāwak, wherever the Rajah liked : it was the greatest *shame* I could give them, if I did not take it from them. . But what they *gave now* was not to be taken for a precedent by the Malays, or any other party, if the Rajah gave them up, as they would never acknowledge anybody else, except the Rajah.’

“The independent tone of this is capital ! ‘they will never acknowledge any other rule than the Rajah’s!’ and the endearing terms and expressions used are wonderful. The love and influence the Rajah possesses amongst these people is extraordinary. Is it not curious that I should hear this from the mouths of these people ? and in England now Hume is making them hate him !

“I have also to thank Mr. ——— for his very handsome present. I told Gasu, the most powerful chief here, of Mr. ———’s present, and of his ideas upon the subject of warfare. He said : ‘ It was very good for the white man ; but that if it was not for these swords and spears, they would

have eaten themselves up, without the assistance of their enemies.' This is figurative, but true ; and I could not help thinking of our own tradition of the Kilkenny cats. He told me at the same time to 'be armed, as it was proper.' ”

In the neighbourhood of Fort James, in the new town, and about the banks of the Batang Lupar, is a population of more than 200,000 souls ; the fields are now under cultivation, having been untouched for years ; and all are now looking for protection to the Rajah of Sarāwak, and ready of course, through the multiplying requirements of a great community, to pay back in commercial advantages whatever benefits they may derive from European countenance and protection.

The second new fort is at the entrance of the Kanowit. This also is built at the request and at the expense of the Kayan chiefs, and they too have requested the Rajah to send them a European Governor. Mr. Steel at present guards this fort ; and to his credit I record that by the last accounts he was absent in the interior, *vaccinating* the Kayan children. Such, in fact, has been the course pursued by the Rajah of Sarāwak, and so well is he backed by his few European coadjutors, that his extraordinary influence may be said to be only now beginning to develop itself : it is a moral influence ; not the effect of force ; and the fact that many independent chiefs—heads of Governments *de facto*—seek to be under the Government of Sarāwak, but are refused from necessity ; that they nevertheless

own its power, and make it the supreme arbiter of their internal disputes ; that there is not a *pirate* chief even, who will not come to Sarāwak, assured of the good faith of its ruler ; nay—the single fact that he dwells among them in safety, with a mere handful of Europeans among thousands of natives, of a fierce and independent character,—this alone is an answer to any charge which private malice could originate, or uninquiring credulity receive, of cruelty, selfishness, oppression, against the Rajah of Sarāwak.

Of one thing I am sure : that if, being such as he is by actual position in the Eastern Archipelago, he be unnaturally driven from the service and alliance of his native country by persecution and injustice at the hands of a persevering clique ; or if, looking reasonably to her for some reciprocity of disinterestedness, the results of which would inevitably reward her tenfold into her bosom, he finds his expectations repudiated ;—if, I say, such disappointments should produce their natural consequence, sure I am that there *are* European powers, who will not be backward to appreciate the advantage of establishing such a reciprocity with the Sarāwak flag : and one cannot help seeing that, devoted as Sir James Brooke has been hitherto to the interests of England, as against European rivals, his position and character are independent.

The commercial importance of Sarāwak in those seas can scarcely be over-rated : the astonishing influx of

Chinese immigrants attests that *they* at least have discovered it.

Among the benefits for which the chief praise is due to my friend, though I am aware that he duly acknowledges his obligations to the naval service, is the present SECURITY FROM PILLAGE, enjoyed on the highway of nations.

And on shore no less he has been the *peacemaker*. Peace, through his mediation, has been established between tribes, whose mutual animosities had raged immemorially. PEACE-CONGRESSES have been held, which would gladden the heart and loose the tongue even of that euonymous personage, Mr. Elihu Burritt.

Wishing to express on these subjects my own genuine convictions untinged by communication with Sir James Brooke, I may have fallen into trifling inaccuracies ; but I think not into any that can affect the main points I have advanced. I believe I may also safely state that all the improvements and salutary measures referred to have been carried into effect out of the Rajah's *public salary*, or from the revenue of Sarāwak ; the latter resource, however, is not very redundant.

Its annual expenses are between £5,000 and £6,000. It has now a debt of £3,000 ; and it has absorbed £20,000 of Sir James Brooke's private fortune.

I do not think that there are above one or two persons in this kingdom who could misinterpret the views of a not extravagant Government, in appointing Sir James Brooke, in 1847, Governor of Labuan, with a salary and a

Lieutenant-Governor ; or who could suggest that he was expected to waste all his time on that unpeopled island. It was a mode of acknowledging his past services to trade and to humanity, of retaining generally his prospective services, and of reimbursing him in some degree for the entire expenditure of his private fortune. The public interests, however, have always received back that salary : for so much of it as was not expended in Labuan was devoted to the equipment of a fleet of native prahus, for the suppression of piracy,—an object sufficiently unselfish to disarm most cavillers.

It is reported that the Sultan of Bruné is dead, or dying. Anarchy and confusion will ensue, such as I confidently say the Rajah of Sarāwak alone has the power to restrain. The probable successor to the throne is the son of Muda Hassim ; and again the Rajah of Sarāwak is the only person who can advance the interests of the new Sultan. He is everywhere respected, and through him a general respect has attached itself to the English name.

Of any one material assertion which I have here advanced I challenge denial : and if none can be denied, then I invite my country—as a country set against slavery, devoted to civilisation, aggrandised by commerce, glorified by Christianity—still to appreciate the Rajah of Sarāwak, her honoured representative in the East, and her most potent auxiliary in all these characters. I invite her to mark more loudly than ever her sense of the difference between private persecution and conscientious patriotism.

I had hoped that I should not have occasion, after the last chapter, to mention Mr. Hume: but even while writing this, I became acquainted with more "Parliamentary Papers," which I had not thought of examining before, and on which it would appear that he intends to build a new tower of strength for an assault upon Sir James Brooke. I can assure him that his foundation is of sand. I have only time to throw into the Appendix the three mischievously-intended questions addressed by the Honourable Member to Lord Malmesbury. His Lordship's reply is worthy of an English gentleman—but I can only refer to it from memory, as objecting to "prejudge a distinguished servant of the Crown;" which reply drew forth from Mr. Hume an elaborate denial that he *is* "distinguished." I hope Mr. Hume may live to deny, or to be ashamed of his own distinction in a line which it is hard to believe conscientious still; for this new case again abounds in errors of conclusion, and of fact, which a statesman-like accuser, on public grounds, ought to be honest enough, and, when twice signally defeated, wise enough to shun. I read, however, in this morning's "Times," some excellent remarks upon calumnies directed against another *very* distinguished (military) servant of the Crown, and upon the mode of treating them. Much good may they do to all in need of sound counsel and good consolation under calumny:—

"The public will very generally sympathise with the

gallant officer's indignation at the foul aspersions brought against him. Let him leave the care of his defence to the justice of his contemporaries, and of posterity. Every one in this outspoken country, who has raised himself to any degree of civil or military eminence, has been exposed to the like attacks, and in his proper person proved how little calumny can avail against an honest man. Every obnoxious epithet was applied to the *conqueror of the Peninsula*, either for acts of his own men, over which he had no control, or for the acts of the enemy. *He was great enough—every man should be great enough—to live down slander.*"

I am favoured with the following interesting paper on the present state of Sarāwak, by the Rev. Francis McDougall, the zealous and exemplary clergyman already referred to :—

"After many inquiries on the subject, I think we may safely say that Sarāwak (or Kuching) is now the most thriving town in all Borneo. I should put the *Malay* inhabitants at about 15,000; the poorer part of them grow rice, the wealthier are all traders who go to sea in their own vessels, or join the ventures of those who have them. Many of the nakodas sail vessels of considerable burden; one was launched last year of 230 tons; and the number of craft of various description to be seen building on both sides of the river, as one rows past the town, is quite surprising. The once small Chinese Bazaar is grown into a respectable town, with broad streets for carts and

other wheeled conveyances. The altap cottages are giving place to substantial bilian and plank walled houses, and in some cases the roofs are tiled, in others covered with bilian shingles. The shops are crammed with merchandise ; and several of the shopkeepers have branch establishments at Sakarran, and I believe also at Siriki. Three or four small Sincapore schooners, owned by Chinese and Klings, are constantly running between Sarāwak and Sincapore ; they bring European and Chinese goods, and take back sago, gutta percha, &c. The kitchen gardens cultivated by Chinese extend a long way round the town into the jungle, and by their rapid extension afford a convincing proof of the increasing demands of the place. There is a good carriage-road running due south from the town for nearly three miles, with pretty gardens and cottages all the way along.

“ Up the river at Siniawan and Bow, where three years since there were but a few scattered Chinese cottages, there are now considerable Chinese towns, with well built houses, shops of all kinds, and handsome joss and kungsi houses.

“ At Sakarran, round Fort James, the same pleasing signs of progress are visible ; and a picturesque little town, with its Chinese Bazaar and well built houses, now stands where two years ago there was but a few straggling cottages. From this town a brisk trade is carried on with the natives of the interior.

“ Up the Serebas, at Boling, a large Malay town is fast

springing into life, and there is a continually increasing trade between that river and Sarāwak.

“At Lundu the Chinese are settling in numbers, and have already converted a large tract of ground into sugar and vegetable gardens. Gold has been found there, which they hope to work profitably.

“Since the fort has been built and garrisoned on the Rejang, an opening has been made into the Kayan countries, and a trade is springing up there which will, ere long, be very important.

“The Church of England mission at Sarāwak has been gradually working its way into an important and prominent position. The church and mission house are striking features as one approaches the town ; the former is opened for regular daily services, which are assiduously attended by the native converts : the latter is as thronged and busy as a beehive. It is inhabited by the missionaries, their assistants, and the twenty-five native Christian children, who are being brought up there for future service in the mission, and, when duly qualified, will be sent out to teach their heathen friends and kinsmen the ways of truth and righteousness. The Rajah has kindly lent the Court-house, and provided an assistant Malay teacher for a Malay school, which is held there daily for all such natives as like to attend. One missionary, Mr. Chambers, is stationed at Sakarran, among the important tribes of Dyaks on that river, who have received him well. It is intended that he shall soon be joined by another, to assist

him in his important and laborious position ; and a third missionary is now about to proceed to Lundu, where the chief of the tribe has professed his desire to embrace Christianity. There are now four clergymen, one catechist, an English matron for the school, and two native assistants, attached to the mission. There is also an hospital and dispensary, supported by the Rajah, attached to it. As soon as the present clergy are sufficiently versed in the language, they will be placed out at different stations already fixed upon, where the Dyaks are ready to receive them.”

I will end by setting Mr. Hume a puzzle. In the works of Lord Bacon he will find a dissertation on “sovereign honour.” I invite him to adapt to any passage of his own life any *one* of the “degrees of honour” there set forth, with half the appropriateness with which I will fit them all four upon my friend.

“In the first place are founders of States and Commonwealths.”—Here follow, of course, the great names of history. All I say is, that Mr. Hume, far from ever having *founded* anything, has a special predilection for things *unfounded* : whereas Brooke has founded Sarāwak, which is, and will remain, his monument.

“In the second place are law-givers ; which are also called second founders, because they govern by their ordinances after they are gone.”—We have seen in this chapter the administration of the laws of Sarāwak : they

are made to last. I am not aware that the member for Montrose will leave anything to rule *us* after *he* is gone.

“In the third place are liberators, or preservers : such as control the long miseries of civil wars, or deliver their countries from servitude of strangers or tyrants.”—Read the history of Sarāwak,” Mr. Hume, and quote it fairly, and give us your own parallel passages.

“In the last place are *patres patriæ*—fathers of their country—which reign justly, and make the times good, wherein they live.”—This is the very light in which Sir Thomas Cochrane, Mr. Brereton, and many others, witness that Sir James Brooke *is* regarded in Borneo : and there is enough in this present chapter to establish it.

I invite Mr. Hume to disprove my friend's title to *every* one of these “degrees of honour,” or to establish his own to *any* one of them. And so I bid him heartily farewell.

CHAPTER XVI.

PIRICAL CHIEFS TENDER SUBMISSION—GOOD EFFECTS OF THE EXPEDITION—
 DYAK GRATITUDE—DYAK WOMEN—AMUSING OUR VISITORS—SCREW STEAMER
 ASTONISHES THE NATIVES—ADIEU TO SARAWAK—ARRIVAL AGAIN AT SINGAPORE—
 SIR JAMES BROOKE'S JOURNAL—IMMIGRATION TO SARAWAK—SAMBAS—STRUGGLES
 BETWEEN THE DUTCH AND CHINESE—OPINIONS OF DYAK CHIEFS ON PIRACY—
 DEATH OF BUNSIK AND TUJANG—POLICY OF MERCY—BUSINESS ON HAND—
 DESCRIPTION OF A WEDDING—CHARACTER OF BUNSIK, AND OF TUJANG—LUNDU
 —PROGRESS OF SARAWAK—EFFECT OF IMPROVED GOVERNMENT ON THE DYAKS
 —DISPOSITION AND CAPABILITIES OF DYAKS CONSIDERED—THE ORANG KAYA
 PAMANCHA—RETURN TO KUCHING.

FOR many weeks subsequent to the return of Captain Farquhar's expedition, chiefs from all the piratical rivers continued to visit the Rajah, and to tender their pledges to abstain from Piracy. Many Dyaks and Malays met and became friends, who had hitherto never met, and had only heard of one another as hereditary and deadly enemies. They benefited also in a commercial point of view by the late operations, as, in consequence of the peace and security which they obtained, they soon became great exporters of the productions of their exuberant soil,

on which, amongst other things, rice and sago may be grown to any amount.

Every attention and kindness was shown to the strangers at Sarāwak, by the Rajah, after his return from the expedition to the Serebas and the Rejang. All the prisoners, including women and children, after being for some weeks well fed and treated in the kindest manner, were set at liberty, loaded with clothes and other presents.

A pleasing trait of gratitude may be here related. A Sakarran chief belonging to the river Poe, the head of eight villages, had been taken prisoner and detained at Sarāwak. When the account of his capture reached his wife, she, with that careful attention peculiar to her sex, made up a bundle of valuable Dyak cloths, to enable him by their sale to support himself and live like a chief. Having been set at liberty, he had got as far as Siriki on his return home, when he met the messenger with the bundle. Informing the bearer that it had been his good fortune to make a friend of the Rajah, he bade him continue his journey to Sarāwak, and present the package to Sir James, with a message begging that he would accept them, not for their value, but as a proof of his gratitude.

The Dyak women are susceptible of great devotion to their husbands. When Indra Lelah was passing up the Linga, he noticed some particularly large alligators on the move, notice of which he gave to Ijow, a Balow Chief, who was bathing with his wife. They immediately

turned to leave the stream ; but the chief waited a little too long : he was seized and dragged under water ; the woman, on seeing her husband's fate, sprang into the river after him, shrieking out that she would not survive his loss ; but the alligator, having as much as he could manage, did not molest her ; she was with difficulty saved by her friends.

Among the things shown for the amusement of the visitors, the burning of spirits astonished them greatly, as well as a few simple chemical experiments : a magic lantern gave rise to bursts of merriment, and to many jocose observations. One view, representing some body-snatchers in a churchyard bearing away their ghastly burdens, pursued by a number of skeletons, one of which carried a skull in its hand, particularly excited the Sakarrans : they shouted, laughed, and yelled.

One afternoon, to the wonder of all, and the dismay of not a few, a mysterious-looking ship was seen moving up the river, at a steady pace against a strong ebb tide ; their astonishment was great, for she was propelled by neither sails nor paddles. "The English were indeed a wonderful and wise people." It was the *Reynard* man-of-war screw-steamer, Commander Cracroft, lately arrived from England.

I took my leave of Sarāwak, probably for the last time, with no small regret. It was a very different place when I first knew it in 1842. In those, its early days, it was my good fortune to lend it the small aid then

placed at my disposal, an aid which proved to be opportune.

My interest in the province of Sarāwak has increased, in proportion to its growing size and importance. My admiration of the man whose head has devised, and whose generosity and kindness of heart have conferred such lasting benefits on so many thousand human beings, is only that of every one who has ever taken the trouble to become acquainted with his character. "Out of evil good will arise,"—"Truth must prevail,"—"No good man was ever without his detractors;" and those, who would blemish the fair fame of Sir James Brooke, will, by bringing his real character prominently before the public, only raise him higher in the opinion of the world.

On arrival at Sincapore on the 20th August 1849, we found orders to proceed to Port Essington, Sydney, and the Pacific. We took up our old berth in New Harbour, and prepared for a voyage to another quarter of the globe. We had likewise to take charge of a schooner, built at Bombay for the Colonial Government at Port Adelaide.

* * * * *

I had delivered into the publisher's hands thus much of my own Manuscript, when Sir James Brooke kindly allowed me access to some scattered notes, which he had himself kept from time to time. They appeared to me to contain much interesting matter. One portion especially I could wish that he had allowed me to communicate. It

relates to his mission to the King of Siam. Another part, however, illustrative of men and things in Borneo, I have with difficulty obtained permission to make use of.

The notes are published as they stand in the original Manuscript.

“ June 15th, 1850,—Singapore. I commence anew a Journal of events, after a lapse of several important years of my life ; and I propose to continue it, as a record of events and of feelings, of hopes and of fears, of struggles, of successes, and defeats.

“ This record, however, will be for myself alone ; I shall try to lose the sense of writing for the public, and use the freedom that I feel of action and of expression.

“ October 28th, 1850. My Journal recommences in Sarāwak—our detention in Singapore and the passage over in the *Nemesis* being unworthy of mention.

“ Sarāwak flourishes ; and an influx of a large body of Chinese promises well for the future ; and the fact of these immigrants having wives and families, and being agriculturists, ensures the quiet of the country.

“ Sambas, it appears, has at present two kunsis or associated bodies of Chinese ; namely, the Tyquong whose capital is Montrado, and Santiqu, who were principally located at Sipang. The power of the Tyquong kungsi had overshadowed the entire country, until the Dutch authority was but a name ; and the large opium revenue

of the Sultan of Sambas was gradually falling away, from the barefaced system of smuggling carried on.

“I believe that I may safely say that it had become a question, which of the two parties was to rule the country ; and thus the Dutch and the Sultan resolved to vindicate the authority of Government, and to humble the kungsi Tyquong. The occasion was not long wanting ; and, a positive demand for the delivery of some opium smugglers meeting with a positive refusal, hostilities followed. The detail is of no importance to Sarāwak ; but up to the present time Tyquong has been successful, has beaten back the Dutch troops from their ground, and has attacked and punished all the Chinese who have sided with the legitimate Government. Amongst these the Santiqu have suffered : Sipang and other places have been captured ; and the inhabitants of the flourishing town of Pamangkat, at the entrance of the Sambas river, fled in a fright to Sarāwak, on the advance of their Chinese enemies. Thus Sarāwak has gained a very good and a very useful population ; and Sambas, our neighbour, is involved in a struggle which must materially affect its future prosperity, in which ever way it may terminate. .

“My sympathies are with the Dutch ; and I am assured that the existence of the Dyaks in Sambas depends on the humiliation of the Chinese. At all events Sarāwak must gain, and its future prosperity must depend on the *Government of the Chinese*. It is to this point, therefore, that I first turn my attention ; and, as the Santiqu are

now in distress, and sufficiently humble, it will not be a difficult task to reduce it to obedience, and to establish a fixed system of government, which shall prevent that gradual, but fatal, encroachment on the Dyaks, which has prevailed in the neighbouring country. In the mean time, though these Pamangkat fugitives are miserably poor, and though we are supporting 350 families, the jungle is fast disappearing around the town, and houses are springing up in every direction. The Chinese in the interior once brought under control, and I look forward to a great and rapid advance in the resources of the country and its revenues.

“After breakfast, met Nanang, Lowio, and Ajee, the three sons of the Orang Kaya Pamancha of Serebas. Nanang and Ajee I like; and it would have instructed some English wiseheads to have heard them strongly insisting, that their delinquencies by sea and by land were committed chiefly at the instigation of the Malays. ‘Had I been present last night,’ said Ajee, ‘when Abang Apong said the Malays could not restrain the Dyaks, I would have told him to his face that it was the Malays who first taught the Dyaks to pirate, and who have since always encouraged and participated in the crime.’

“I sent many kind messages to the Orang Kaya Pamancha, begging him to forbear himself, and to restrain the other Dyak chiefs.

“Abang Apong the son of the Laxsimana of Serebas,

arrived at the same time as Nanang : the latter inhabits Paddi, the former Paku. He is a fine young man, and well spoken ; and, if I may trust to his assurances, there is no doubt that the Malays of Serebas will desist from piracy. It is certain that the tone of submission at present is better than after Keppel's operation. The repetition of the blow has done much ; and, as I am assured that the Malays of their own accord desire to establish themselves at Boling, I have great hopes of their sincerity ; for at Boling they are accessible at all times.

“ It was Abang Apong, his brother Abang Gombang, Lingire, and a small party, that killed my poor friend Bunsie and his younger brother Tujang, sons of the Orang Kaya Tumangong of Lundu.* It is strange that on both the occasions, when we have been unfortunate in action, it was from the neglect of my precautions. Bunsie and Tujang, instead of advancing cautiously as scouts before forty Malays, and with the body of Europeans within a hundred yards, straggled forward as though an ambush was impossible. Bunsie passed a small clump of bamboo, behind which the enemy were concealed ; and Lingire (a very little man) jumping out killed him with two cuts on the back. Tujang ran to his brother's assistance and engaged Abang Apong ; both fell, and each grappled the sword arm of his adversary ; but Abang Gombang coming to his brother's aid, and Lingire

* The incidents here detailed are mentioned in my account of operations up the Paku branch of the Serebas river, chap. x., H. K.

likewise, Tujang was despatched, just as two Malays of our party arrived at the scene of conflict.

“These two, of whom one was Abang Hassan, fired at about ten paces’ distance ; the one shot killing Abang Gombang, and the other passing through Lingire’s war jacket. The small party forming the ambuscade then fled, and we were not again troubled by enemies. This story I had from Lingire.

“Among the visitors was Captain Wallage’s captured Dyak, commonly known by the name of “Jack,” but whose real name is Kabo, and who is the brother of Lingire. The last fact he concealed, fearing, as he said, the natives who were with us. The man seemed pleased to meet me again, and grateful for the kindness shown him.

“Mercy in these cases is seldom thrown away ; and we ought never to judge this wild and barbarous people as we would judge a piratical felon of Europe. The crime must be suppressed at any cost ; but the distinction between the perpetrators is palpable. The one being a national or tribal offence against the world at large, the other the act of individual felons, the outpouring scum of civilisation.

“There are four questions of prominent importance to be attended to during my six weeks’ residence here. First, the settlement of Serebas, as far as may be. Second, the settlement of Sakarran, by means of the fort established at the entrance, which will be the nucleus of a trading town. Third, the settlement of the Rejang by a fort and trading port at the mouth of the Kanowit.

Fourth, something like a government for the fine river of Sadong.

“These points must be well considered ; and to create good governments I must find good agents ; and I must have the permission of the *de jure* rulers in Borneo, whose power has long been at an end.

“29th.—A wedding at the Datus House, where we sat for two long hours ; but I cannot stop to describe it.”

* * * * *

I interrupt my friend's Journal to give an account of the wedding here alluded to.

The bride was a niece of my old acquaintance Mina, the Datu Patingue's wife ; the bridegroom was young Kassan, who was residing with the Datu Bandar. The event created, from the rank of the parties, a great sensation at Sarāwak.

For a whole month previous to the actual ceremony, firing of cannon and display of flags, feasting and merry-making, had been going on at the houses of the respective parents.

The ceremony took place at Mina's new residence. A large square space was fitted up in one corner of the room, and handsomely decorated : here were placed the bridal couches, the two last covered with handsome mats ; and at the head of each there was a pile of pillows which nearly reached to the ceiling. The couches were surrounded by one or two sets of curtains, ready to be let down at pleasure ; and the spaces between the latter and

the couches were decorated in gorgeous style, with cloth of gold, artificial flowers, and numerous other ornaments.

Chairs (an unsightly innovation) were placed in the centre of the room for the Europeans, on which we had to wait a considerable time. Gradually the room began to fill with the ladies of Sarāwak and their children: they seated themselves in their more primitive posture, all squatting on the floor, while the men collected outside.

In one corner we observed the bride seated on an ornamented mattress, and surrounded by a crowd of women, who were busy dressing and decorating the poor girl; she drooped her head and affected to be, or I dare say she was, very nervous, but did not say a word. However, the head-dress, covered all over with gold flowers and ornaments, having been completed to the satisfaction of the elderly ladies, she was led to the bridal couch, where she was seated. The men sit cross-legged; the posture of the women is more graceful, both feet being inclined on one side and bent back. We noticed that each young lady closely scrutinised the bride, and pretended to detect something in the dress that required a finishing pinch: some fanned her, and all looked a little envious.

Her dress was very handsome, and in good taste: the baju (jacket) was of shot silk, embroidered with gold, and was of native manufacture; the saluar (trousers) of rich silk; one sarong, likewise of silk, was fastened round the waist by a gold belt, and reached to the ancles; while a

lighter one was worn over the right shoulder and across the breast; her arms were loaded with massive gold bracelets, and she wore on her left hand a profusion of rings; a handkerchief was held in her right hand, as is considered indispensable by Malays of rank.

The young bride had a narrow escape of being very pretty; the upper part of her face really was so, but the lower jaw was a little too square and prominent.

From the number in the room, we had an opportunity of forming an opinion as to the looks of Malay women, which were decidedly pleasing; a few of the damsels particularly so. Those of our party who had been living long enough to have got over their English prejudices, pointed out two or three whom they declared to be downright handsome. The women of the lower classes have, however, so much household drudgery to perform, that their good looks soon wear out. The men, although small, are strong-limbed and well proportioned; but their features are hard and ugly.

Our bride having been kept in proper suspense for some time, the approach of the bridegroom, who had been fitting out at his relation's (the Bandar's), was announced.

Kassan, having landed from his barge (a new Siamese boat, lent for the occasion by the Rajah), was borne by four men on a kind of chair to the door of the room, preceded by men carrying ornaments of artificial flowers.

On his alighting here, some Hadjis (men who have

made a pilgrimage to Mecca) uttered a prayer, which was three times responded to by the whole assemblage. After this, Kassan struck the threshold of the room with his foot three times ; and then walking up to the bridal couch between two men, he gently touched his future wife over the head with a wand, and placed his right foot in her lap, and then retreating a couple of paces he sat down on the adjoining couch.

Kassan was dressed, as well as his bride, in cloth of gold. He wore silk trowsers, and over them a sarong, short, like a kilt : another sarong, crossing over his right shoulder and under the left arm, and a crown of gold flowers on his head, completed his costume.

As this was all of the ceremony we were allowed to see, we left the room ; in which I understand the wedded pair have to remain shut up for seven days.

* * * * *

Sir James Brooke's journal continued :—

“ At night we had the magic lantern, which afforded much amusement ; my old friend Pang-oum the Orang Kaya Sintah was present. I promised to go and see the Orang Kaya Pamancha at his new location at Marudung, and thence proceed to the Quop to visit Pang-oum's tribe.

“ I am not at home yet in Court, and find much laxness in the details of business.

“ 30th.—Abang Apong, with Lingire and their Serebas party took leave. I have hopes of them.

“ Pang-oum brought a young cocoa-nut for me to spit

into, as usual ; and after receiving a little gold-dust and white cloth, returned home to cultivate his rice-fields.

“ 31st.—The Orang Kaya Lundu arrived as Lingire was departing, and fortunately they did not meet ; for it would have been sad pain to the poor father to have met the slayer of his son.

“ Poor Bunsie was a great favourite of mine ; and I had seen him grow up, from the little boy, as I described him * presenting me with a white fowl on my first visit to Lundu, into the fine handsome warrior, who was slain at Paku. He was of a mild disposition, and amiable character, and far different from his brother Tujang, whose death has been a blessing to his tribe ; for he was of a fierce, ardent temper, arrogant and overbearing, loving war and strife ; and, although possessed of many virtues, yet distinguished by qualities which rendered him an unsafe man in peaceful times. He had already passed beyond the control of his father, and domineered over his milder brothers Kalong and Bunsie ; and the struggle for the chieftainship on the father's death would have only had the effect of breaking up what has been, under the old man's sway, the strongest party of the long-divided tribe of Sibuyow. Now Lundu is prosperous and rising ; and I propose to make it more prosperous still ; for, there being no inhabitants in the interior, no Dyaks who might be injured, it will be an admirable locality for the Chinese. Gold has been found there ; and the Chinese from Sumbas

* See “ Keppel's Borneo.”

are anxious to work it. The soil is represented as excellent ; and as large a Chinese population as chooses may be established.

“ Two Chinese men, Akin and Assan, came with the Orang Kaya. They, with about sixty men, women, and children, fled from Sipang on its capture by the Tiquong, and are badly off. These may form a nucleus : at any rate I shall try ; and with a European ruler Lundu will rise into a second Sarāwak.

“ Sarāwak seems to have taken the shoot upward which I had expected long ago : but confidence is of slower growth than I anticipated ; and piracy has been a great drawback. I may mention, too, that the effect on the Dyaks of a freedom from oppression has been just the *reverse* of what I expected. The freedom from oppression, the reduction of taxation, the security for life and property, has made them *lazy*. I always thought that it would have made them industrious, and eager to improve their condition. This error is a common one ; and probably most men in England would have fallen into it as well as myself. More of this another time ; but, lazy or industrious, the right principle should (and shall) be persevered in ; for the right principle is based on the solid rock. If the first step is laziness, the second will be improvement, the third industry.

“ The lazy, comfortable, well-fed Dyaks, who have no occasion to work for others, and no wish to work for themselves, who have arrived at the summit of human

felicity, as depicted in their imaginations, form no ungrateful picture for the mind to rest upon : and now, before they labour to satisfy their wants, they **must** be taught new wants, arising out of an improved social state. Would I labour in order to possess palaces paved with gold, and studded with precious stones? No, certainly not, for I should not value such a lodging. Why, then, should the Dyak work to obtain a silver spoon, or a silver platter, when a plantain leaf and five-pronged hand are sufficient for his wants? There is a point of social developement which begets healthy wants and desires ; and to this point the Dyak has not arrived.

“ There is, besides this, a condition of sterner want, begotten by the very progress of social advancement, which we know in England and Ireland ; and God forbid the Dyak should come to that state of penury, which has ever been seen in contrast, and, perhaps, must ever contrast frightfully with a high degree of civilisation. There are some philosophers who harp on the terms “ *industry* ” and “ *work*,” as though these two words comprised the sum total of human happiness—**work ! work !** and when the weary head reposes, **what is gained ?** Why, food ! Now if food can be obtained without ceaseless labour, is it not better that the poor man should relax from toil ? Is there not a greater hope of moral and intellectual fruit when want is not always pinching us, or staring us in the face ?

“ I believe that stern and ceaseless toil keeps man as nearly as possible to the level of the brute. I say then, let the Dyak be happy—let him eat his fill of the rice he grows. He has pigs beneath his house—he feasts at stated periods—he is not driven to labour for others. The jungle is his own, he enjoys the chase, he is rich in his own estimation, and he is happy. Why should he toil when he does not want—when he has no desire to gratify—no hope to realize? He is content and well-fed. The time will come when events, chasing each other in the world, will advance his intellectual powers; the infant state of the race will progress to manhood; the Dyaks will improve morally and socially, and be creatures capable of appreciating a higher order of enjoyment. But it is time, and time alone, can do this; the whole province of Government is to afford them protection, and to prevent them from injuring others; and taxation, that inevitable result of Government, must be apportioned to their laziness. They must not be *forced* to work: no! not even to pay the taxes that may not appear burdensome. They must not be forced to work—no! though civilised men and wise may think it for their good. In these principles I am firm and steadfast.

“ Philanthropists would improve the Dyaks by teaching the women to sew, and the men to manufacture piece-goods. Experience will leave them to advance, content that they enjoy, and fearful of applying rules which may injure and not benefit them.

“ The giant Improvement goes forth under the school-master Philanthropy, with all civilised appliances ; but savages will not be hurried into his views by patent processes. We must let the Dyak in his playground play innocently as long as he likes, eat and drink, and be merry. His lessons must be light at first ; and when he arrives at man’s estate he shall put off foolish things, and know that he has a mind and a God. In that God let me trust, who has placed me here as the Dyak’s guide.

“ On the 4th I visited by invitation the new settlement of Marudung, where the branch of the Sibuyows, commanded by the Orang Kaya Pamancha, has been located for about four years.

“ I was joyously received ; visited the different houses ; made them a present, as usual, of a little gold, some white cloth, and, as is the custom amongst them, sufficient iron to make each man a sword, which is here equivalent to a plough ; for in fact the Dyak uses his sword for turning up the soil, and it *is* his plough. This is the first year they have paid revenue.

“ The place is well chosen, the soil very rich, and the rice grown by this tribe is the finest in Sarāwak, as fine as I have ever seen in any country.

“ The Orang Kaya and his people confess themselves to be very comfortable. They made merry during the day, and in the evening were stupid : but partial intoxication, which is the only stage they arrive at by the use of their fermented liquors, never leads to anything like riot.

“ During the feast, Luang (a Dyak of the tribe) was very inquisitive to hear of my reception in Siam ; after giving him a brief account, I mentioned by chance that we had returned to Singapore along the coast of the Malayan States of Patani, Tringanu, &c., upon which he remarked that he had been along that coast, had passed the mouth of the Menam, and extended his voyage to the shore of Cambodia. ‘ You ! ’ I asked in astonishment, ‘ How did you manage to get there ? ’ He replied that he had accompanied the Lanuns on a piratical cruise, being sent by Sheriff Sahib of Sadong. The Orang Kaya took up the conversation, and detailed many of the piracies committed by his portion of the Sibuyows, whilst located at Sadong, and concluded by saying, ‘ We were sent out, and could not refuse ; but if you want to know all about piracy, there (pointing to Abang Hassan, a Malay,) is one of Sheriff Sahib’s panglimas.’ Upon this a long conversation followed ; and I was certainly struck with the details of the manner in which these Dyaks were gradually trained to the trade of piracy.

“ On the morning of the 5th they washed the feet of all our party in cocoa-nut-water ; and there was the ceremony of waving the fowl, and invoking blessings on the tribe. We then started for the Quop at nine o’clock ; and after a three hours’ walk in a killing sun, took refuge in a dangow, or temporary hut, till the intense heat had passed away. At four, after a delicious bathe on the way up the hill, we arrived at the house, where our dear old Orang

Kaya Pang-oum had made all sorts of preparations for our reception. It is highly gratifying to witness the plenty and comfort which reign among these people, and their unbounded—even superstitious—confidence in me.

“Some trivial recurrence to the old system of *serra*,* has been allowed to creep in during my periods of absence ; and this must be amended ; but, on the whole, the Dyaks are at the summit of their ideas of happiness. Rice, pigs, children, and fruit-trees abound ; what more does a Dyak need ?

“After our dinner, I fell fast asleep in the midst of the fowl-waving, dancing, and gonging ceremonies ; and ever and anon, as I awoke through the long night, I saw the dim figures in the uncertain light, pacing their minuet close to me, or heard the melancholy song of the female chorus, filling up the pauses of the louder clang of gongs and tom-toms. It looked shadowy and unreal ; but still, overcome with fatigue, I slept an unquiet sleep.

“The 6th November up at daylight. Superintended the planting of a post or flagstaff, and was exhorted to spit on lumps of rice, and to feed the children, the women, and aged men.

“Four miles’ walk before breakfast brought us to the landing-place, and we reached Kuching at two o’clock, after a short and agreeable excursion.”

* Forced taxation.

CHAPTER XVII.

SINIAWAN—DYAKS GRATEFUL—BOW—THE TEMPLE—KUNSI—THE PARIT—CONTENDING INTERESTS SETTLED—THE MILLANOWS—ARISTOCRATIC THIEF—DELINQUENCIES OF BANDAR KASSIM OF SADONG—FISHING—SUPERSTITION AS TO THE FISH PÜTTIN—CHURCH AT SARAWAK—DAILY LIFE THERE—COURT—CONFERENCES WITH THE COMPANY—SUICIDE BY A CHINAMAN—SIR JAMES BROOKE UNWELL, DECIDES ON VISITING ENGLAND—SHERIFF MOKSAIN—HIS EVIL DEEDS AT SAKARRAN—DEMAND FOR EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT—VISITS FROM CHIEFS—ADVICE TO THEM—EUROPEAN GOVERNOR PROMISED—REVENUE.

“SATURDAY, 9th November, started at 4 a.m, reached Leda Tannah at seven, breakfasted, and proceeded to Siniawan—thence to Tundong. The Chinese locations about here are fifteen in number.

“There is but one feeling amongst the Sow, Sarambo, Bombak and Paninjaw Dyaks against the Chinese ; Singé is more favourably disposed.

“The banks of the river near Singé were shaded by numerous flowering trees and shrubs, presenting a beautiful sight. The approach to Siniawan always interests me, and recalls the operations against my present friends, and best supporters. Kassim, in passing the

Dampar creek, related to me his capture, the slaughter of two other poor boys who were with him, and his subsequent sufferings.

“Ingratitude is a common vice to tax men with ; but I can safely say that from Kassim, and all the rest of the Siniawans, I have met with gratitude and kindly feeling ; that is, such gratitude as we have a right to look for from *men*, and not of that sentimental quality which panders to vanity, or is exacted whenever a benefactor is out of humour.

“From Tundong we walked a short five miles to Bow ; our long procession was met half way by a Chinese guard of honour, who fired guns, and beat the most discordant gongs and other instruments, that ever jarred on mortal ears. Coupling their name of Celestials with their musical attainments, we may conclude that the choir of a Chinese heaven is very unsuited to our present notions.

“Bow is not so comfortable as it ought to be ; but still there is an industrious aspect—a new substantial house, with fine Balian posts and attaps ; but it is only a show-house—a kungsi-house—a devil-house, without any comfort or convenience.

“The temple is in the centre ; on each side is a room where the workmen sleep ; and above these again they are thickly stowed away, on floors beneath the roof. Without is an open shed, where the range of cooking-pans is placed, about and around which the kungsi-folk and

labourers sit and eat, and drink tea. In fact it is a monastic establishment, without the privacy of cells, or the devotion of the chapel. The fugitives from Sipang and Pamangkat are located in temporary huts, close to the kungsi establishment, and they wash for gold in the old parits of the kungsi.

“ My object in coming here was to know what the Chinese are about ; to reduce them under government ; and to protect the Dyaks ; and I wish likewise to remove as many of them as I can to the sea-board.

“ There are justice and revenue in opposite scales : I wish to encourage the Chinese, but it must not be at the expense of the Dyaks. The Chinese will develop the resources of the country, as they are active and industrious ; but they must be located where they cannot encroach on the poor and simple aborigines.

“ 10th, Sunday. Took a stroll in the morning to the pond which supplies water for the gold works, and thence we saw an old parit, and a parit just making. The parit is a narrow boarded trench, through which the water is led ; and close to this trench the workmen dig the alluvial soil which they throw into the water, the gold being deposited, the refuse carried off. Numbers of fugitives were at work, washing for gold in the forsaken trenches ; and though it is unpleasant, and scarcely remunerative, they seemed merry enough.

“ Breakfast over, I had the three writers, with other Chinese of some respectability, to a conference.

“ We were surrounded by a large crowd ; I made all my demands in due form, and all were complied with ; but the difficulty is in the detail of execution, and not in the wholesale of words. The principal demands were,—that the kungsi was not to aim at governing, nor to receive revenue, but was frankly, freely, and unreservedly, to acknowledge the authority of the Government of Sarawak. That it was to appoint a Captain China, whilst I was to appoint a Captain Inglis, who were jointly to superintend the affairs and proceedings of the company in the interior.

“ That the kungsi were not to decide any cases of dispute or crime, excepting among their own people ; and then only for misdemeanours of a light description.

“ That the kungsi were not to take Dyak lands, nor to open any new parit, without permission. That all malefactors demanded were to be given up, &c. &c.

“ These terms being agreed on, the space of ten days was fixed, at their request, when they were to come to Kuching, to acquaint me who was to be the Captain, and what the mode of transferring revenue to Government, which has been heretofore levied by the Kungsi on the Chinese in the interior.—At the same time I directed them to send down the great mass of the new comers, and not to allow of small Chinese locations in different directions ; and I informed them that I would on no account allow Chinese to farm lands in the interior. This being concluded, we parted on the most friendly terms,

and I set off for Pankalan Bow, attended by my discordant band, and the one, two, three, cracking of gingalls.

“Ten minutes' walk brought Brooke * and myself to the landing place ; and a small boat borrowed for the occasion being in waiting, we dropped down the river to Tundong. At Bow the small river of that name joins the main stream, bringing down the *débris* of the gold works, and tainting the clear and transparent water for many miles below.

“The overarching trees on rocky banks, the stream, here rippling over rocks and pebbles, and there swelling into placid progress, present as sweetly sylvan a scene as man would wish to gaze on. The sunbeams flickered through the foliage ; and lazily reclining I enjoyed myself till we reached Tundong, and joined the rest of our party. Here we found some hundred and fifty or two hundred Dyaks, fully armed, awaiting us, but too late for the conference. I was ill pleased with this display of Meta's pretended zeal, and the real design of hostile demonstration ; and I should have walked them all back to the place whence they came, had they arrived earlier : but as it was, we all started on our way home, and the Dyaks would soon follow.

“From all that I have seen, the injury done to the Dyaks is in a great measure imaginary, and by no means justifies their complaints.

* Captain Brooke, nephew of Sir James Brooke.

“The principal Chinese location of Bow the Dyaks have not used within the memory of man. Salingok does not deprive them of one farm ; and the small locations of eight or ten Chinese are scarcely worth mentioning ; yet for all this I do not wish to locate numbers of Chinese in the interior ; and their diffusion here and there in small nuclei renders them difficult to govern. It is however attention to details, which must keep the Chinese and the Dyaks in check. The Chinese must not be allowed to injure the Dyak, but the Dyak must not monopolize tracts of land which he cannot use,—like a “dog in the manger.”

“At three our party arrived at Leda Tannah ; and after dining started for home at nine, where we arrived at half-past twelve.

“14th.—Quietly at home : the days in Court ; the evenings generally crowded with visitors. I received a long message from Pangeran Mat-Ali, of Oya, who is really, I believe, a good man. I was rejoiced to hear that the civil dissensions in the rivers of Oya and Muka had ceased for the present. I wrote to both these Pangerans, *i.e.* to Mat Ali and his cousin Ursat, encouraging them in the path of good Government. The Millanows, whom they govern, are a quiet people—unwarlike, but with many strange and barbarous habits.

“On the 12th, I had a Sheriff, a nephew of the Sultan of Pontiana,—a man of the very highest rank in these countries *below the wind*—before me in Court, accused of a petty theft. He had come from Singapore ; and, not

being able to pay the passage-money, had prigged a gold bracelet from the house of a Pontiana woman, whom he had honoured with his presence. I read him a lecture, told him shame was in crime, and that he was covered with shame, and in his high position must feel having been found guilty of theft in Court ; that a poor man would be flogged or imprisoned for the offence, but that a person of exalted birth, the son of a Sultan, would, if he had any right feeling, any sense of shame, be sufficiently punished by disgrace, and exposure, and guilt. I therefore directed him to be kept in jail, till an opportunity occurred for sending him back to the place whence he came ; I afterwards let him out on bail.

“ My countrymen who sat in Court with me thought I had been too lenient in this sentence—I did not, and do not think so : the crime was the lightest description of theft : laws are never equally applied ; and if they were, there would be no justice. An officer is not flogged for getting drunk as the common soldier is : the crime is the same, but the punishment would be unequal. A blood horse feels one lash more than a donkey feels a dozen : a man of birth and education, however degraded, feels punishment more acutely than the man, whose moral perceptions have never been awakened. This is a feeling which should be cherished ; and the feeling of shame is found acute in the Malayan race : it is not found in the Chinese : it is a moral sense ; and a moral punishment can be applied ; and when this moral sensitiveness and

moral punishment become more general, through the medium of moral education, or by any other means, then the law will be disarmed of its brutal inflictions, and justice will be more equalised to the outward senses : but there can be no justice, where punishment is equally applied to all classes of men for the same offences. 'Fine, or Tread-mill,' says the magistrate in Bow Street. The gentleman pays the fine, and, if he be a gentleman, feels the disgrace. The hardened man feels not, but treads his weary round of a month. This distinction is as near an approach to justice, as human beings can arrive at, and this is the distinction I made in the case of the Sheriff. Had I flogged him ever so lightly, I should have been unjust most probably to him, and I should have blunted the fine moral perception of every Malay present. The same moral sense of disgrace, which deters from crime, would have risen in arms against the punishment ; and every Malay present would have been shocked at the severity, and felt the injustice.

"Last evening came the Sennah and Sinangkan Dyaks, and put me in a fever of indignation at the practices of that wretch Bandar Kassim of Sadong, who has once again been at his paltry intrigues to bully and oppress. Stopped it must be, and stopped it shall be.

"15th. I got up, with my indignation against Bandar Kassim cooled, but all the more resolute in my purpose of checking his career of folly, meanness, and crime, in Sadong. What pains have I not taken with this man !

Oppressed as he and the Sadong people were by the residence of Sheriff Sahib in their country, and by his harsh and arbitrary Government, I recommended this man—then Abong Kassim—to Muda Hassim, and got him made Bandar. He had the sole charge of all the Sadong Dyaks, and the Government of the Malays. He paid no revenue to Bruné, and was never interfered with from Sarāwak ; and without an evil course he might easily have made a thousand a-year, and with an increasing revenue have seen his people happy. How often did I instruct, beseech, reprove this man, to keep him in the right path ! How long have I borne with him, in the hope that he would awake to his own interests, and perceive the madness and the folly of a wrong course ! All in vain : weak-minded, and short-sighted, the idiot has mistaken forbearance for weakness, remonstrance for idle words, and pardon for a proof of his own power. Oppressions, exactions, robberies, misgovernment, injustice, violence were all forgiven five years ago. His interference with the Dyaks of Sadong, who had fled and found protection in Sarāwak, gave rise to a strong remonstrance, and orders to forbear ; but the fool cannot and never could forbear. When I went to England, the intrigues of Duna Lelah, Sheriff Jaffer, and Sheriff Ahmed, dispossessed him of power at Sadong. I returned, and reinstated him, with fresh cautions, and fresh instructions. Nevertheless he secretly ordered his Dyaks to invade Sangow ; and bloodshed followed. I, too busy to attend

in detail, ordered him to repair this great wrong ;—He never did so ; and, about a year and a half ago, numerous other cases of barefaced spoliation of Dyaks and Malays being brought forward, I removed him from Sadong, and with the consent of the Brune Rajahs placed his brother Abang Leman in charge. Abang Leman is as foolish as Bandar Kassim, weak and imbecile, and the change was not attended with good. Leman, if he had had the will, had not talent nor resolution for the task. A year ago I allowed the Bandar to return to Sadong to live privately. Both he and Leman before lived at Sarāwak at least half their time, being married to the Datu Patingue's niece and daughter. Bandar Kassim returned to Sadong ; and now I hear anew that he is tampering right and left with the Dyaks, coaxing some, intimidating others, interfering with our border Dyaks, and organising a fresh attack on the Sangow people,—thus undoing all that I have done to put an end to the intertribal wars, and to cure the Dyaks of their propensity for head-taking. Already has the former assault got up by him caused retaliation on one of the Sadong tribes ; already the whole fabric is endangered ; and it can be preserved by the strong hand alone ; and all this the work of an idiot, with a little cunning. I contented myself with writing an order for Bandar Kassim to appear before me, and a second letter to Pangeran Paduka, the ruler of that part of the Sangow country, on the Dyak business. Thus I await events. But Bandar Kassim has reached the end

of his tether, his time of grace is past ; the measure of his crimes is full, and he must be restrained or brought to trial. Sadong must have a Government, the Dyaks must be protected, and some revenue raised for the Rajahs of Bruné.

“18th. Friday.—My day of rest ; the Mahomedan day of prayer. I made it quite a day of ease, but in the evening had a large assembly.

“The Orang Kaya, Tumangong of the Sibuyows settled at Samarahan came, about the dreadful murder perpetrated on a family of his tribe in that river some months ago, during my absence, when three out of the four men suspected made their escape from our prison, after being apprehended. I promised him to catch the men again, and bring them to open trial ; and this very morning I had heard of their being at Kaluka and Sakarran. The repeated complaints of the Malays at Sakarran against Sheriff Moksain (or Hussein), and his complaints against them, determined me to send Cruikshank and Charlie Grant to inquire into the matter. One thing appears certain, namely that, whoever may be right and whoever wrong, the Government I had proposed under this Sheriff is a dead failure ; he is at strife with the people and the people are at strife with him.

“Talking after dinner of fishing, the Orang Kaya Tumangong just mentioned, declared there were more fish in the Sampun than any other river on the coast ;

and speaking of particular kinds of fish he related the following story.

“The Sibuyows never eat the puttin, on account of an old tradition in their tribe. ‘One day a Dyak was fishing and caught only a single puttin, which he gave to a Malay at whose house he landed to procure a light for his pipe. On his coming back to get the fish, the fish was no longer there ; but crouched in the bottom of his canoe was a pretty little girl. The good Dyak was greatly astonished at this transformation, but carried the little girl home, where she was brought up with the family, and grew to be a woman ; and in due course married her finder’s son. No peculiarity was observed in her conduct ; she was like any other Dyak woman, and made a good wife ; she pounded the rice, drew the water, made mats, and conducted the affairs of the household with propriety and neatness. After a time she bore her attached husband a son, and suckled the boy till he could run about ; when one day, being at the edge of the water with the boy and her husband, she suddenly said to him,’ ‘Here, take the child ; be kind to him for he is my child ; I have been a good wife, but I must now rejoin my own tribe ;’ and thus saying she plunged into the river and became once more a puttin’.

“I then in turn related the story of the cat turned into a Princess ; other traditions both of Malays and Dyaks followed, and it was twelve o’clock when I went to bed.

“ 17th.—Yesterday was a day of penance for my late hours.

“ Cruikshank, Charlie Grant, and Lee, started for Sakarran at two o'clock. It is the first time Charlie has gone from me, since he joined three years ago ; but it is right to make him independent, to burden him with responsibility, to let him judge for himself. The higher and nobler exercise of duty is not to be acquired in a dependent post.

“ In the evening, not feeling well, I stayed in my own room, though we had a small party ; at night the flood of moonlight poured over the vegetation, and lighted up tree and shrub. The voyagers were no doubt making the best of it, and enjoying themselves. I almost envied them.

“ 18th.—Yesterday was Sunday. I went to church, and was pleased at our congregation and the service ; with the attention and interest which all seemed to take in what was going on ; and with the little Chinese children, and the other little children, neither English, nor Chinese, nor Dyak, and yet innocent little children too.

“ McDougall preached on the Lord's Supper.

“ 19th.—How pleasing is this life of usefulness and repose ! and each day, as I stay here and reduce business, its pleasures are enhanced.

“ The moderately early rising (half-past six or seven) ; the reading, sometimes serious, sometimes light, sometimes in train, sometimes desultory, before ten ; then breakfast,

writing, or private interviews till twelve. Office for two, three, or more hours ; sometimes the gentle nap induced by a dull book ; the freshness of the evening, with its stroll, or ride ; the quiet dinner, and the native crowd and conversation afterwards till ten, P.M. ; then my own room, book, thoughts, and bed ; and, as I lie down, I feel grateful for many blessings, and close my eyes with confidence.

“ After breakfast I had a case in Court, which, being of a pawnbroking character, I decided in an off-hand manner, much to my satisfaction.

“ While I was in Court Sheriff Muller arrived ; but it being two o'clock, and feeling suddenly quite out of order, I returned home and laid myself down, and read of all the injuries which insects inflict on man ; and this made me more squeamish than before. I often feel these sudden fits, half faintness, half sickness, come over me for a time.

“ In the evening I had Sheriff Muller and the other sheriffs from Sakarran, looking miserable and silent.

“ 20th.—In the morning I met the writers of the Company, who said all that was proper to be said, and duly appointed Atiow to be Captain China, whilst, on my part, I appointed Steele Captain Inglis. These two Captains will transact all the business between the Kungsi and the government, and between the Kungsi and the Dyaks. We shall know where the Chinese live, how many there are, and what the general feeling is. If our captain is a clever

young fellow, he will gain the confidence of the Chinese in the interior, and thus smooth our path. This is the first and great step. The agreement was re-written and re-read, and ratified. Atiow's appointment is satisfactory; for, though he cannot live many months, yet he is an honest and fair man, speaks Malay well, and has the confidence of all parties. Opium-smoking is his bane. He is shrivelled, tottering, and with lungs affected.

"I had a long talk with Sheriff Muller (or properly and henceforth Mullah). The complaints against Sheriff Moksain are numerous, and I fear too well founded. Sheriff Mullah I rather like; and people say he was always a kind man at Sakarran, and passive rather than active as a pirate. He took what came to his share, but did not originate the system; nor did he endeavour to check it. His brother, Sheriff Sahib, was the active power.

"22nd.—Court business, but not important. McDougall came down to say that a Chinaman, who had poisoned himself, lay dead at his house, and that none of his relations would bury him. What was he to do? Hereat I waxed indignant, sent for the relations, and dealt roundly with them, so that they buried the corpse. It appeared that the man poisoned himself, and there was concerned a woman, a silver pipe, and a ring. The relations of the deceased declared that he committed suicide because the woman had taken the ring and pipe;

but this cause scarcely accounts for the deed ; and probably it was a case of love and jealousy. It is all to be tried on Saturday.

“ 28th.—Thus far I wrote, feeling in my usual health,—weakly, but cheerful : on the 23rd I was ailing slightly ; on the 24th my old enemy the ague returned, and I have since been prostrate in strength, though rallying a little in health. Under these circumstances I have not hesitated in deciding at once on proceeding to England directly. Here I am useless : my sickly efforts exhaust my frame ; and the claims on my attention daily call for exertions beyond my power. I may by this step regain health and strength to continue my work ; and the confidence I have in Brooke renders my absence comparatively safe and easy. Delay would in all probability bring no fitter opportunity ; and thus I turn my face to Europe.

“ The day before yesterday came Bandar Kassim ; yesterday arrived Sheriff Moksain, preceded the night before by our party. There is enough against both these Governors of provinces to smash them a dozen times over. Bandar Kassim was always a weak, mean rogue. Sheriff Moksain (*vulgo* Hussein), on the contrary, has abilities, has lived near me ever since I had sway in Sarāwak, and has known me, one would have thought, well enough to know the danger of going wrong. The policy was so clear and so well defined, that he ought not to have missed his way : a fool might have seen it ; but with his eyes open he has taken the flowery

path of wrong, and blown into a great man when he should still have been a folded bud. The sheriffs and their followers, who had suffered so severely from former abuse of power and from piracies, one would naturally have thought he would have made his friends; they were thoroughly humbled, would have been grateful for kindness, and were of his own race and class; these, instead of befriending and attaching, he has alienated by his haughtiness and assumption of superiority; and nothing marks the man more than the act of placing his seal at the head of a letter addressed to Sheriff Mullah,—a man of advanced age, his equal in every respect, and his superior in native eyes in most. It is an arrogance that Sheriff Moksain knew I was never guilty of myself, and a style never used by Muda Hassim or others of the royal family of Bruné, towards a sheriff of Mullah's rank and age. Further than this, however, he has tampered with their slaves, ripped up old sores, and not only wounded their pride, and injured their interests, but he has excluded them from all share in politics and government.

“Thus the experiment of government, as far as Tuanku Sheriff Moksain is concerned, is a failure; and there is not a man in the Malay Kampong who trusts him or likes him. His power, they all say, is his commission from me; and that he makes the most unbounded use of my name there can be no doubt. The Dyaks, however, the Sheriff has propitiated, and how? By lavishing upon them

presents of all sorts, to gain their hearts or their voices ; but it is doubtful whether he gains their obedience or their respect. Thus he has played the Dyaks against the Malays,—a dangerous game at all times, and in his position a fatal one ; for he was originally posted at Sakarran to guard the fort, and to prevent the Dyaks from going forth. As instances of particular crimes of which he has been guilty, I may mention his unjust rule of fining men for the smallest fault : one man he fined because he dropped down the river without acquainting him of his intention. He has deprived people of their slaves, and made them his own slaves.

“ His extravagance has so involved him in debt and distress, that he cannot be honest if he would. He has sold the arms belonging to me, lent him for use in the fort ; and, worse than all, he has reduced a family to slavery, who were declared free in Sarāwak. Away with him ! he is convicted ; he has broken by his misrule the net of good goverment which I am trying to establish ; and he must be removed.

“ Fortunately, through all this year of misrule and misconduct, the Malays of Sakarran have behaved with great patience and forbearance ; and the Dyaks have shown every wish to continue peaceful, and to abandon their piratical habits.

“ All alike cry out for the government of a European ; and a European they shall have, if I can find out the way. He, or rather they (for there must be two) are to

live as best they can for the first two years ; after that time there will be no difficulty ; the country will develop itself : trade will increase ; and the revenue will support a small establishment.

“ Had I always resided at Sarāwak, this evil would not have happened ; but, again, had I always resided at Sarāwak, the chance of forming a good government in Sakarran might never have occurred. Were I strong now, I might remedy it more easily. Again, my absence will give stability to Sarāwak and Sakarran,—if the governments be successful,—which, if established by my personal influence alone, they would not possess. So there are reasons *pro* and *con* : but certainly, in regard to permanency, it is to be best insured by transferring my mantle during my life, in a great degree, to my successor. The change then will be natural and easy at my death ; and that it may be so is one great object I aim at, and which I pray God may grant. Alas ! in this life we cannot do the best we wish, but the best we can ; and thus, so weak and ill as I feel, the return to Europe in search of health is the most prudent step I can take ; and, oh ! how many thousands are there, who would be surprised to hear the small yearly sum I can allow myself for my *regal expenses*.

“ I had a quiet dinner with the McDougalls, and enjoyed their conversation in the evening, lying on the couch. It is always sensible, elegant, and soothing.

“ 29th.—I felt better in the morning, after a night of

rain which came down in a quiet, unpretending deluge,—very different from your gusty showers. I listened at intervals during the night, and turned and slept undisturbed by the pattering on the roof.

“ After breakfast came Abang Kapi, Abang Ain Gasin, and some fine young Dyaks, a son of Pa Limbang’s amongst them, from Sakarran. Gasin I always liked ; he has quite regained his influence, and certainly likes us. There is nothing radically evil about these Dyaks, though their rage for head-taking is a bad one ; but this must end in time. Piracy on the high seas was taught them by the Malays, but they learned the art more easily from the cranium propensity. I spoke to these men of good government, of peace, and security, and prosperity ; of Sheriff Moksain’s failure, of my little desire to force any government, far less any particular form of government, upon them : that I would put a European or two amongst them to govern properly, and to show and remind them of what was right, if they did wrong ; but not to interfere with their customs or religion. I said that murder and theft, and oppression of the Dyaks—piracy and evil-doing, hurtful to all men—the European would put an end to ; and would call and consult with the chiefs ; but he would not interfere in the details of government, nor harass them with forms and ceremonies.

“ A European, I added, must have the means of living ; and some revenue must be provided to enable him

to meet the expenses of government, however simple. If this could be managed at first, there was no doubt that time would increase the revenue, as the country increased, and that all would be easy and comfortable.

“This effort quite exhausted me, and proved how utterly weak I am ; not suffering, but prostrate in strength.”

CHAPTER XVIII.

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CURIOUS BIRD IN LABUAN DESCRIBED—DYAKS OF KANOWIT AND KATIRAS—MR. BURNS—
 PARTICULARS OF HIS MURDER—LETTERS FROM THE KAYAN CHIEFS OF BARRAN—
 THE KAHAU OR PROBOSCIS MONKEY—CHARACTER AND HISTORY OF KASSIM—POLICY
 AS TO SADONG—SAKARRAN POLITICS—SHERIFF MOKSAIN—UNDOP DYAKS—
 APPROACHING DEPARTURE—REFLECTIONS—UNIVERSAL PEACE—DYAK HISTORIES,
 FEUDS—THE KAYAN TRIBES, CANNIBALS—DYAKS OF JANKANG, ALSO CANNIBALS.

“2ND DECEMBER. The following description of a bird found in Labuan, is curious, and I relate it as I heard it from Low and Brereton.

“The *habitat* is in the woods of Labuan, (query—does it frequent sandy beaches?) the bird is gallinaceous; the egg of enormous size, in proportion to the body of the bird, and this egg is deposited in a hole, which is covered over with dry leaves; and the young one is hatched without parental superintendence. An egg thus found in the jungle was placed in a hole in Low’s garden, and covered over; and some days afterwards the young bird found his way out, already fledged, and was active and lively. I have two of the eggs, and a wretched specimen of the bird. The egg is of the colour of a

rich game-fowl's egg, three inches long, or more, thin and pointed, and considerably larger than a duck's—as big indeed as a small goose's egg.

“Still ill and weak, but rallying. Excellent news from Kanowit.

“The Dyaks of Kanowit and Katibus quite willing that a fort should be placed there; and Kum Nipa, the great Kayan chief, came down himself, and with many professions of friendship, declared his intention, if a government under a European was established, to move down with two thousand families below the rapids, as more convenient for trade; and thus the Kayan trade of the interior would find an outlet.

“Kum Nipa declared that Mr. Burns had everywhere given himself out as my son, and thus Kum Lassa had been induced to marry his daughter to him. Heaven bless me if I had such a son, or such a relative!”

* * * * *

I here interrupt Sir James Brooke's journal to give some account of this unfortunate Mr. Burns, who was finally murdered by pirates in Maludu Bay. Mr. Hume's witness *Miles* (see Chapter XII.) alludes to him, for the sake of complaining that Sir James Brooke had removed him from the Bintulu River to Labuan. He was a disreputable adventurer; but by means of misrepresentations, such as Sir James alludes to, he obtained in marriage a daughter of one of the chiefs. His proceedings are not worth detailing; but the subjoined

letter from the Rajahs of Barram to Sir James Brooke, and his reply will give an idea of the mischief which unprincipled Europeans may do among people whom we are hoping to conciliate, to civilise, and to Christianise ; it will also show what was Sir James Brooke's principle of acting with such people, and what a salutary effect it must have already had on their natural impulses, when they refer to *him* as to a just judge, instead of taking the law into their own hands.

The letters are also otherwise interesting, as specimens of such correspondence.

“ Mr. Burns,” says Sir James Brooke, in a despatch to Lord Palmerston, “ is the first Englishman who has ever visited the interesting and important river” (Barram) ; he states also that the conduct of Mr. Burns was the same in every place which he visited, and that he would have been put to death by the Kayan chiefs, had it not been for their consideration towards the English.

THE RAJAHS OF BARRAM TO MR. SCOTT AND MR. LOW.

“ This letter from your friends Tamawan, and Tamadin, and Tama-itam-Balari, to Mr. Scott and Mr. Low, who govern the country of Labuan, &c.

“ This (letter) is in place of a personal conference with our friends, and (by it) we wish to inform our friends the story of Mr. Burns having entered the country of Barram. We were under the impression that the reason of his

wishing to visit us was to attend to his trade and business, and to deal with us truly in all affairs. We (on our parts) were very anxious to trade after the manner usual amongst merchants ; but this we inform our friends, Mr. Scott and Mr. Low, that Mr. Burns does very treacherously—he wishes to take persons' wives ; whether they like it or not, he takes people's wives. And also Mr. Burns ordered us to kill people who enter the river Barram, of whatever description (or race) they be ; whoever enters, it is good to kill them, saying (Mr. Burns) 'whatever you want, Tama-itam-Balari, I will give you ; muskets, ten cases with powder and ball ; and should it ever be inquired into at any future day, I will be responsible for all.' Further, Nakodah Gadore told us to take the whole matter to Labuan, and make it known to Mr. Scott and Mr. Low, but Mr. Burns dissuaded us, saying he himself would bring the matter before the Court.

(Signed) "TAMAWAN.

"Written on the 17th day of
the month Zul-Hadji."

"TAMADIN.

"TAMA-ITAM-BALARI."

SIR JAMES BROOKE TO THE RAJAHS OF KAYAN
AND KIMEAH.

"To Tamawan, Tamadin, and Tama-itam-Balari, and the other Rajahs of the country of Barram, from Sir James Brooke, &c.

"(Compliments.)

"Mr. Scott and Mr. Low have handed to me the letter

my friends sent, relating to the conduct of Mr. Burns, in the Barram River. I request that in future, whenever an Englishman does wrong like Mr. Burns, my friends will order him out of their country, and hold no intercourse with him ; and should he refuse obedience, or otherwise commit crime, or conduct himself badly, my friends can act justly and rightly in support of their authority, and for the protection of their people. Every English trader must obey the Government of the country in which he carries on his business ; and wrong doing must be punished in every country. I trust in the friendship and fairness of the Rajahs of Barram in dealing with white men ; but white men in Barram cannot be permitted to behave like Mr. Burns, or to commit crimes, or to cheat, or to trade unfairly. I hope that my friends, in dealing with white men who come to their country, will distinguish between the good and the bad, and will not admit any person to their friendship and intimacy until they are assured of his honesty, and that he knows how to conduct himself properly. My friends must remember that no trader has any authority to speak upon subjects concerning the Government of the country, or to intrigue, or to spread false reports. Let the traders, therefore, in my friends' country, be confined to their own business ; and if they represent themselves to be great people, possessed of power, or talk as Mr. Burns talked, my friends will know that they speak falsely, and are men without shame.

“I hope likewise that my friends, over all the country of Barram, will remember that if any man comes from Labuan or Sarāwak, or any other place, and is a bad man, and if he deals unfairly in trade, he is no follower of the English Government, or of mine. I request my friends will consider what I have said, and have this better explained by many different people. And let my friends Tamawan, Tamadin, and Tama-itam-Balari confide in my friendship, as I confide in theirs, so that the two countries of England and Barram may be as one country. I have received my friends' presents, and send, as a small mark of remembrance, some red cloth. Mr. Scott and Mr. Low send many compliments to my friends.”

The following are the particulars of the murder of Mr. Burns by pirates.

He was engaged at the time on a trading voyage, in the *Dolphin* schooner, which sailed under the British flag, the crew comprising, besides himself as Supercargo, and his Captain, Mr. Robertson, ten Javanese seamen, one Ser-cung Kreemon, and three Jurumudies, in all sixteen persons. They had been up a river in Maludu Bay, and had got outside on their return, when about noon on the 10th September they observed two small prahus pulling towards them. On nearing, their crews said they were traders. There were eleven persons in the two boats that went alongside, six of whom got on the deck of the schooner. They were Lanuns. Mr. Burns told them to stop until he came to an anchor, which he presently did.

They brought some samples of tortoiseshell, camphor, and pearls. They asked for rice and fish, which was given them. No business was done that day. At night they went into their own prahus, and held on astern. A third prahu, in which was Sheriff Hussein, came off. In the morning, at about seven o'clock, ten men again went on board from the prahus. Mr. Burns was aft, on one side of the deck; the Captain (Robertson) was walking the deck on the other side; the crew were forward, getting ready a new jib-boom.

The Malays then handed up a roll of matting, supposed to be for trading, but in which were concealed their swords. Their chief, Memadam, was talking to the Captain. Mr. Burns, sitting down near the wheel, was examining some pearls, when Memadam, snatching a sword from out of the bundle of matting, attacked the Captain, while one, "Si Brahim," at the same moment made a chop at Mr. Burns, nearly severing the head from the body. The remainder of the Lanuns then seized their arms, and made an attack on the crew. Mr. Robertson, having received a cut over the face, ran forward, and got out on the bowsprit—where he was speared, while begging that his life might be spared, and fell into the water. Such of the crew as were forward, with the exception of one jurumudie, who was murdered on deck, then jumped overboard. Mr. Burns's servant-boy was cut down near the foremast. The Captain's nona, a helpless woman, was cruelly butchered in the cabin, when

they nearly severed her head from her body. One of the Javanese seamen was speared in the water. The remainder of the crew were swimming about for nearly an hour, when the pirates called out to them, "Will you sail the ship and live, or refuse and die?" On which they all went on board. At first they had their hands tied, but were afterwards released to get the vessel under weigh.

Sheriff Hussein, of Maludu, was on board the *Dolphin* at the time of the attack, and helped himself to a variety of articles, before quitting the vessel. This was the same young chief, whom I mentioned in a former part of this work, as having come on board the *Mæander* in Maludu Bay, on which occasion he told a plausible story to Sir James Brooke. * After they got outside, they threw the bodies of Burns, his servant-boy, the nona, and the jurumudie overboard. They then mounted the guns, and got up the arms, which had hitherto been stowed in the hold, and a strict watch and guard was kept night and day. They always anchored at night. On the ninth day after leaving Maludu Bay, they arrived in the mouth of the Beng-gaya River, in Labok Bay, and saluted the chief, "Sheriff Yassin," whom they styled "Rajah" with seven guns. The Sheriff then sent a boat on board, and demanded whose vessel it was? One of the pirates replied, "It is our vessel." The Sheriff's men then said it was Tuan Burns's vessel; to which they replied, "No, it belongs to another European."

* See Chapter iv.

It appears that several of the pirates, as well as some of the *Dolphin's* crew, were frequently on shore.

The second day after their arrival, twenty-four of the Sheriff's men went on board. One of them said to the men belonging to the *Dolphin*, "We are sent to take the vessel from the Lanuns ; if they do not give it up we will kill them, so keep clear." The pirates, however, said they would obey the Rajah's orders, and were taken ashore. The schooner was then taken possession of by Sheriff Yassin's men.

When the pirates appeared before Sheriff Yassin, he said to them, "You must give me up the vessel." They replied, "No, it is our good fortune, we will not give up the vessel." On this the Sheriff drew his kris, and killed one of them, named Urow ; and another named Te Krabow was immediately killed by the Sheriff's people. Four others were seized, but were claimed afterwards by a Soloo Datu, who took them away. Memadam, the Chief, who is a Lanun belonging to Tungku, succeeded in escaping into the jungle. When the *Dolphin's* men came on shore, the Sheriff desired one of them, Karnoo, to cut off the dead pirates' heads, which he did, while his companion, Sawall, held their legs : although their bodies had been nearly hacked to pieces, their faces were not touched. Sheriff Yassin said, "These men (pointing to the two dead bodies) were murderers : take their heads, and preserve them either in salt or gin, and take them to Labuan, as an evidence that I have assisted the Europeans."

It was about six weeks after this that the H. C. S. *Pluto* appeared in the bay. She was on her way to the east coast of Borneo, with Mr. Spencer St. John, who was acting commissioner in the room of Sir James Brooke ; they had called in Maludu Bay, where they heard of what had occurred. They had some difficulty in finding Beng-gaya.

The young Sheriff Yassin's conduct appears to have been very praiseworthy. The *Dolphin*, and everything belonging to her, was given up to Mr. St. John. The decks were still stained by the blood of the victims. The cabin doors he had caused to be nailed up, and had kept a strong guard on board to protect her from the Lanuns, who wished to recapture her. She had been at Beng-gaya forty days, during which time Yassin supplied the crew with provisions, &c. It is to be hoped that poor Yassin will not suffer for his temerity, as Beng-gaya is but a short distance from Tungku, one of the principal strongholds of the Lanun pirates. A useless demonstration of our naval forces appears since to have been made at Tungku, which has called forth the threat of a descent on our settlement at Labuan, similar to that made by the Soloos on Balam-bangan in 1775 ; and it is not impossible that they may do it with equal success.

Mr. Burns had been several times on the north-east coast of Borneo for trading purposes, and was incredulous as to the existence of pirates in that quarter. He would thus appear to have fallen a victim to his confidence in the

native character, which led him to neglect the precautions so necessary in visiting all those localities of the Archipelago, where European influence is not firmly established.

This will be as convenient a place as may occur for adding two other letters from the Kayan and Kinneah Rajahs, written in answer to communications from Sir James Brooke, professing his desire that friendly relations should be established, and commerce with their river promoted. He likewise had requested them to desist from making hostile incursions into the territories of the Sultan of Bruné, against whose people they had long carried on an intertribal war. These chiefs, inhabiting a river rich in commercial produce, are represented as being powerful and independent, and, as Sir James Brooke observes, the frank and manly character attributed to them is confirmed by these very characteristic letters :—

RAJAH TAMAWAN OF BARRAM TO SIR JAS. BROOKE.

“This is from Tamawan, who is Rajah in the country of Barram, to the Rajah (Sir James Brooke) who holds the government of Labuan, &c. &c.

“Your friend Tamawan informs you, that the letter which was brought by the Nakoda Godore was received with great honour, and saluted with twenty-one guns; and further, in regard to what the Rajah says in that

letter about the killing people at Limbang, Totong, Belawit, and Meri, the reason of it is that they killed our people formerly ; but now that we have heard the contents of the letter of our friend, the Rajah, our friend need not be under any apprehension that we shall kill them any more, for we have agreed ; Tamawan, who is Rajah in Barram, and all his people and chiefs of the villages Paku, Buang, &c. &c., all these follow, both for good and for ill, Tamawan's government ; but for other people, as those of the villages (or tribes) of Panah, (here follow twelve or fourteen very hard names) these are the names of those who are not under the government of Tamawan, but in the country of Barram ; so that if these people intrigue or kill, Tamawan cannot be answerable, because they are not under his government.

“If they (his own people) do wrong or kill, Tamawan will be answerable that they shall abide by the decision of the Rajah, with whom he will establish friendship in all truth. At this time Tamawan has very little time for consideration, because, he is making a farm at a river named Babiong, in the middle of the Barram country. As regards our friend the Rajah having ordered Nakodah Mahomed to visit his friend Tamawan, we were not able to meet him ; but our wife named Bubong did, and sent two hundred birds' nests, a shield, a sword, a spear, and other weapons.

“Thus Tamawan was not only himself of true heart towards the Rajah, but this feeling was also shared in by

his wife, who sent these presents. We have nothing now to send but a sword, a spear, and a shield.

“Written on the 17th Sawal, on Monday, at 7 o'clock 1265. A. H.”

RAJAH TAMAL OF BARRAM TO SIR JAS. BROOKE.

“This letter (is) from your friend Rajah Tamal, the nephew of Akam Sassa, and whose wife is the sister of Tama-itam-Balari, and who is the Rajah in the river of Barram, which sovereignty has descended to him from his ancestors.

“At present (this time) Tama-itam-Balari is also a Rajah, but it is Tamal who manages both good and bad affairs between Kayans and the people of Brunć. With regard to the Rajah's (Sir J. Brooke) letter which Nakodah Gadore brought, it has arrived at Barram, where it was received with great dignity and honour, and under a salute of twenty-one guns. As to the matter of the killing, Tamal and Sing-owdin, and Tama-itam-Balari, together with all the people of Barram, wish to agree, so there may no more be killing either of the people of Limbong, Totong, Belawit, or Meri. The reason why we have formerly killed the people of those countries is, that they in the first place killed our people. Now Tamal and Sing-owdin live at one place; and Tamal sends to his friend the Rajah (Sir J. Brooke) one sword, one spear, and a hat, with his compliments in thousands. Tama-

itam-Balari sends to his friend the Rajah one sword, one throwing spear, one hat, and one jacket made of leopard skin.

“Written on the festival-day, the 10th day of the month Sawal, at 12 o'clock, 1285. A. H. These are all the things your friend Tamal has sent by Nakoda Gadore.”

SIR JAMES BROOKE'S JOURNAL CONTINUED.

“I resolved too, to place Brereton at Sakarran, if he would undertake this arduous post.

“I have before mentioned at some length the Kahau or Proboscis Monkey, and this account is confirmed in almost every particular by an examination of seven live specimens brought in yesterday. Five of these are females, and two male animals, one full grown but not old, the other half grown. The colouring of these two males is the same as that of the females, and wanting in the variety of colour of the large male I before described. Their noses are the same likewise as the females,—a lump of flesh sticking out nearly at right angles from the face; whereas the large male had an enormous nose, which after death hung loose and flabby on the face. The brickdust colour of the face is decided. The leaves, fruit, and flowers of the Podada are their favourite food. Their dispositions are remarkably gentle; and though the most active of their active class, they are somewhat stupid. The hands are grey, not black; the eyelashes fine and red,

and not easily discerned. The nose has an indented line down the centre, and I think, as the animal grows older, becomes flaccid and drooping, as in the male I have mentioned. I judge so from an elderly lady of the group.

“3rd.—One of my happy family, the large male, was found dead this morning, probably having received a mortal injury from the attempt to escape ; but a female with a young one, and a smaller female supplied his place. The captors declared that the large males were too cunning for them, and would not, like the unsuspecting females, wait till daylight, but marched off in the dark.

“I rose not quite so well as yesterday ; but had a long conversation with Kassim touching the Milikin Dyaks.

“This fine tribe, now inhabiting Sadong, was originally connected with the Sibuyows ; and both these tribes, as well as the Serebas and Sakarran, have a common origin, and descended to the coast from the interior of the Kapuas River. The Sibuyows locating themselves near the sea have become a maritime people ; whilst the Milikin, settling in the interior, know nothing of the ways of the great deep, and navigate nothing larger than a canoe. The Serebas and the Sakarran, like the Milikin, were an inland people, ignorant of seafaring, until the Malays taught them that art and piracy at the same time. Serebas showed the way ; Sakarran, which was a dependency of Kaluka, remained peaceful till the advent of

Sheriff Sahib's father ; when they were initiated in these two accomplishments.

“ In Sheriff Sahib's time they were perfect masters of the trade ; and now I hope they will gradually lose the practice of piracy, without abandoning their character as good and bold seamen.

“ It is remarkable, however, that whilst the Dyaks of Sakarran devoted themselves to piracy, the Dyaks of the Batang Lupa, living in the same country, never became addicted to this vice, and continued a quiet agricultural race. The Kumpang and other Dyaks of this branch of the river may be esteemed, therefore, as representing what the Sakarrans likewise were, about forty or fifty years ago.

“ To return to Kassim and Milikin :—He is a great favourite of mine ; warm and sensitive in temper, grateful, willing, hard-working, gay, yet with excellent sense, and a degree of proper pride which is often wanting in men of higher standing and rank : and yet Kassim is a gentleman by descent as well as in feeling. His history is curious :—Having become an orphan when a mere child, he fell into the hands of the Datu Tumangong, his relative, and was not over-well treated. At the outbreak of the rebellion, he followed his cousin as a matter of course, being then about twelve years of age ; and about a year before my arrival in the country, whilst in a canoe fishing with two other boys, he was set upon by a boat with half-a-dozen men of the opposite party ; his two companions

were killed, and himself captured. Muda Hassim, he told me, was angry at the other boys being killed, but had no compassion on him. He was chained without covering, and exposed to sun and rain at the entrance of the Balei or Hall. Very often he had not enough to eat ; and, even in the depth of his misery, he seems to have felt the jeers and the threats of the brutes about Muda Hassim, more than his physical sufferings. 'Ah!' Kassim said to me but a few days since, when pointing out the spot where he was taken, 'I never knew before or since what real suffering was ; I was worse off than any beast in the jungle ; I was starved, naked, beaten, abused, and threatened, and chained down to the floor!' Three or four months this captivity had endured, when, on my arrival, he was removed to the open shed at the landing-place ; and, though still chained, a bit of cloth was thrown to him wherewith to cover his nakedness, and the quantity of food was increased. He was right glad to see a white man ; and I well remember the poor youth, with shrivelled legs, emaciated face, wondering eyes, and swollen body, who was a state prisoner.

"Months more passed away ; till, my influence being in the ascendant, I got him released, after many times being refused. Kassim was then made over to Abdullah, the old Parsee, and went with him to Sincapore in my company. In Sincapore he fled to my house greatly alarmed, declaring that the old man was going privately to sell him as a '*servant*.' I reminded Abdullah of the penalty

attached to buying and selling men in our settlement ; and hinted at his procuring a free passage to his native place, Bombay. Kassim continued with me ; returned to Sarāwak in the *Royalist* ; and after a few months I begged him from the Rajah, and he became a free man,—or rather boy,—for he was not more than fourteen years of age. Kassim after that time lived in my establishment, and did not acquire the vices of Europeans with their manners. When grown up, he left me, took unto himself a wife, and set up on his own account ; but neither party was quite satisfied with this arrangement. Kassim was useful, and always in request ; and on his part he had become so acquainted with us, that he was always about the premises, or on boating excursions, much to the neglect of his own business as a small trader : so he came back, got a salary, and was attached to the court, where he has been very useful ever since. In time, however, I was anxious to advance Kassim, for he well deserved it ; and not being able to find a better office for him, I gave him charge of the Milikin Dyaks, under the following circumstances :—The misery of the Dyak tribe of Milikin rose to the utmost height, when they were under Sheriff Sahib ; and they were equally ill-used by Bandar Kassim. **I**t was the old story over again,—taxation, exaction, **O**ppression, slavery ; till, after in vain trying to gain fair **u**sage for them, I took them last year under my own **P**rotection, not intending to derive any benefit but **t**o confer it. To protect and manage these poor

Dyaks, I appointed Kassim, and he has done it right well.

“ I allot to him the sole right of trade in bees'-wax and mats, for which, however, I make him pay a *fabulous price*. He places five of his relations at Milikin to watch details, and divides the profits into three shares, two of which go to them, and one to himself ; the whole amount brings about thirty-five or forty pounds sterling clear profit.

“ The revenue of this tribe, when it shall have recovered from the immediate effects of oppression, will amount to five hundred passus of padi, or in money, three hundred rupees, or about twenty-seven pounds sterling ; half of which, in justice, should go for care and collection, and half I propose to give to the Sultan and Rajahs of Borneo, who do not deserve it.

“ If the governors owe something to the governed, if taxes be given for protection, then the Government of Bruné deserves nothing ; for their part of the compact has not been fulfilled : indeed, for twenty or thirty years, they have received payment for what they did not perform.

“ Sadong, like numerous other rivers, has been without a government, and though not deserving, the former rulers may gain by my placing good men in charge, and affording security to the harassed inhabitants. This, in time, may improve,—by keeping Milikin in my own hands, and under Kassim's superintendence, two very good objects are gained :—

“ First. It will prevent the Datu oppressing the other

Dyak tribes—for my Dyaks will be the standard of comparison ; and it will enable me to judge what can be paid to Bruné.

“ Secondly. It will render a good and faithful man comfortable.

“ Now let me turn to Sakarran : Sheriff Moksain has, it is true, behaved badly and foolishly, and plunged himself into debt. There is no excuse for him ; but at the same time he has managed the Dyaks well, and gained their confidence ; and as Gassim and the other Dyaks have applied for his services, I am induced to consider it the best plan in my power to permit Sheriff Moksain to remain at Sakarran under Brereton and Lee. That he will be useful I do not doubt ; he is humbled, and by moderate prudence he will be able to pay his debts by degrees.

“ Brereton’s government must get on at first as well as it can ; he will not have the difficulties I had to encounter at Sarāwak ; and, if the income is small, the outlay will likewise be small ; and time will improve the former more than in proportion to the latter. A certain indirect revenue on salt, and a direct revenue from the Dyaks on rice, besides other small items, will bring the amount up to two hundred or three hundred, for the first few years. Both Brereton and Lee will have a small sum yearly to live upon ; and out of what they get, and I can afford to supply, they can pay their establishment of half-a-dozen men, and afford the Tuanku enough to keep

him comfortably. The more they can afford to spare him, the better servant he will be.

“ After Gassim had left me I had three Undop Dyaks. This fine tribe, living in the fine country on the Undop River, which is a branch of the Batang Lupar, below Sakarran, were attacked some five years ago by the Serebas Malays and Dyaks, assisted by a party of Malays from Salimbow, in the so-called Dutch territory on the Kapuas. They are brave men ; but, being quite over-matched, they were broken and driven, part of them to Linga, part to Salimbow. These poor fellows had come from the latter place, and wanted a letter to Pangeran Mahomed, who rules there, requesting him to let them return to their own lands. Poor fellows! they got the letter, and some clothes, and rice, and salt, to feed them on their journey back. In describing their residence at Salimbow, they did not complain of much bad treatment ; and, *excepting taking away some of their young children*, Pangeran Mahomed appears to have behaved well *for a native*. One of them said ‘ it causes the tears to rise in our eyes, when we see the Dyaks of Salimbow plucking fruit off their own trees, or gathering wax from their own tapangs (a gigantic tree), and reminds us of our own lands, where there are so many tapangs, and such an abundance of fruit.’ Poor fellows! how natural and how touching! They little dreamed of the poetry of their expressions.

“ ‘ Turn our captivity, O Lord, as the rivers in the south.’

“ ‘By the waters of Babylon we sat down, and wept when we remembered thee, O Sion.’

“It was a hard morning’s work, but a good one for an invalid ; though the spirit was willing, the flesh was weak, and I was exhausted after it.

“11th December 1850.—Confined to the house, except for my evening ride, and feeling very debilitated. It is a matter of thankfulness that I suffer so little, and I have hope that this weakness will be cured by bracing air. Certainly for the last ten years I have led as hard a life in a tropical climate as most men ; often a hard life bodily, and always a hard life mentally. I crawled over to-day, to give a decision in a case of litigation between a Kling and a Malay, which had been before the magistrates half-a-dozen times.

“To-morrow the *Nemesis* will perhaps be here. I feel so useless, so unable to do what I am called upon to do, that I long to be off ; but I must visit Labuan before I go. I am worn out.

“Sunday.—The last day of my stay at Sarāwak has arrived. It is always some little pain to leave the place, and yet I feel that change or death are the alternatives ; and that, if I desire a prolonged life of usefulness, it must be nursed at present. I leave everything quiet without, and prosperous within ; and I anticipate no evil, for I have great reliance in the stability of the present state of affairs, founded on the love of the people. I have faith, and I have hope. I believe that truth will triumph over

falsehood, and order triumph over confusion, though often and though seriously impeded. This is the tendency of God's moral government, and its ultimate end ; and the duty of mankind is to advance this end, not by a mere praying for and preaching about, and expecting unattainable perfection ; but by a persevering crusade against evil—by a steady pursuit and encouragement of what is just and good, in reliance on the high and spiritual source of all success.

“As for the doctrine of universal peace in this world, how is it that words and folly should ever prevail, as they do prevail, over some thousands of civilised and educated people ? It obtains credence as a quack medicine is taken ; and history teaches us that no delusion is too gross for the human mind to receive ; no imposture too barefaced for the imaginative weak mind ; and no impostor without his credulous disciples. This peace-imposture is a great ill, in spite of what Mons. Humboldt has said ; it has no practical end, and it impedes the practical alleviation of an evil not to be entirely cured. Is it not plain to common sense that, whilst there shall be crime, and violence, and imposture in the world, there will be war ? for war is but a political effort of one nation to redress the wrongs inflicted on it by another, or it is the crime of one nation against another. To talk of umpires between nations is to cover nakedness with transparent gauze. What umpires or what referee could have stoped Xerxes, or Alexander, or Hannibal ? What

umpires could have checked the league for the dismemberment of Poland? Or Napoleon, when he pounced on Spain, or marched into Russia? What umpires could have stayed the march of the Czar into Hungary? It is folly, and waste of paper, to deal with it. To talk of umpires is to declare that every dispute which arises between nations is to lead to a general war; it is to aggravate the very evil it talks of curing; to set nations by the ears like bulldogs, and to perpetuate a system of meddling with our neighbours' affairs. As for the mode pursued, to arrive at an impossible end,—I must say that the bleatings of this flock would lead one to believe that while they are striving to establish peace, they are banishing *charity* from the world.

“The following is the tale of the Dyaks of Tringus, and tribes of Tadan, Kombè, and Sidin :—

“Formerly the Dyaks of Sarāwak and the Dyaks of Sambas had numerous feuds, which, since my government, have been made up or suspended. The Dyaks of Sarāwak can no longer carry on this intertribal war, being forbidden by the Government, under pain of death. The Dyaks of Tadan, under these circumstances, have opened up an old feud; and, making an incursion to the lands of the Tringus, have killed one man. The Dyaks of Sidin are concerned, having been the guides of the Tadan, and deceiving the Tringus man killed. The Dyaks of Kombè are likewise implicated, having allowed the Tadan to pass their lands in the excursion, which could not have been

made had they refused a right of way. The Tadan have thrice made excursions ; the Tringus, not able to retaliate, live in dread, and fear to cultivate their grounds.

“ It is demanded that the Tadan should be obliged to pay the usual fine for the crime, and be prevented from renewing the feud. Let there be peace. If this cannot be done, there is no other alternative than to let all the Sarāwak tribes loose on the Tadan, because this latter tribe cannot be permitted to kill with impunity a people restrained by their Government.

“ The following is the testimony of three intelligent Dyaks from the interior, given during several months' residence with us, in the most frank manner to be conceived,—as direct and unimpeachable evidence as I ever heard, offered sometimes when they were altogether ; sometimes by individuals apart, in conversation with numerous persons. I examined them myself, and entertain no doubt of the correctness of these statements, as far as their personal knowledge is concerned. The witnesses themselves stated over and over again, with the utmost clearness, how much they *had seen*, and how much heard. There was such perfect good faith and simplicity in their stories, as to carry conviction of their truth.

“ The three men were named Kusu, Gajah, and Rinong ; and stated as follows :—

“ ‘ We are of the tribe of Sibaru ; which is likewise the name of a branch of the Kapuas River. The tribe of Sibaru contains 2000 (or even more) fighting men

(tikaman), and is under the government of Pangeran Kuning, who resides at Santang, a Malay town on the Kapuas. We have none of us been up to the interior of the Kapuas, where the Kayans live, but they often come down to Santang where we meet them. The Kayans are quite independent, very numerous and powerful : they are governed by their own Rajahs, whom they call Takuan. Some of these Kayan tribes are cannibals (makan manusia), it is generally reported, and we know it to be true.

“ ‘ Pangeran Kuning of Santang was at war a few years ago with Pangeran Mahomed of Suwite (Suwight), a Malay town situated on the Kapuas, between Santang and Salimbow. A large force was collected to attack Suwite. There were Malays (Laut) of Santang and Sakadow, and the Dyaks of Sibaru, Samaruang, Dassar, and of other tribes ; and besides all these, was a party of about fifty Kayans. We never heard the particular name of this Kayan tribe, for we did not mix with them, nor did we understand their language : Suwite was not taken, but a few detached houses were captured, and one man of the enemy was killed in the assault.

“ ‘ Kusu saw these Kayans run small spits of iron, from eight inches to a foot long, into the fleshy parts of the dead men’s legs and arms, from the elbow to the shoulder, and from above the ankle beneath the calf to the knee-joint ; and they sliced off the flesh with their swords, and put it into baskets. They carry these spits, as we all saw,

in a case under the scabbard of their swords. They prize heads in the same way as the Dyaks. They took all the flesh off the body, leaving only the big bones, and carried it to their boats, and we all saw them broil (pang-gang) and afterwards eat it. They ate it with great relish, and it smelt, whilst cooking, like hog's flesh. It was not we alone that saw them eat this, but the whole force (balla) saw it.

“ ‘ Men say that many of these interior tribes of Kayans eat human flesh—that of their enemies ; most, however, they say, do not, and all of them are represented to be good people and very hospitable ; and we never heard that they ate any other than the flesh of their enemies. It made us sick to see them, and we were afraid (takut), horrified.

“ ‘ This was not the only time we have seen men eat human flesh. The Dyaks of Jangkang are likewise cannibals. They live somewhere between Sangow and Sadong, on a branch of the Sangow River, called Sakiam. The Jangkangs had been out attacking the Ungkias tribe ; and after the excursion they came to our village with several baskets of human flesh, for they had killed two men. They cooked and ate this outside our house, but it had been broiled (panggang) before. I knew it to be human flesh, for I saw one of them turning the hand (with the fingers) of a dead man at the fire ; and we saw them eat this hand on the bank of the river, close to our house. We talked to them about it, and they did not make any secret of it.

“ ‘The Jangkang people, according to report, eat Malays or Dyaks, or any one else they kill in war ; and they kill their own sick, if near unto death, and eat them. There was an instance of this at Santang. Whilst a party of this people was staying there, one of them fell out of a mango tree, and broke his arm, besides being otherwise much hurt ; and his companions cut his throat (sambilih) and ate him up. None of us, however, saw this happen, but we heard it from the Santang people. It is likewise said, but we do not know it for a truth, that, when they give their yearly feast (makantaun) a man will borrow a plump child, for eating, from his neighbour, and repay in kind with a child of his own, when wanted. We do not however, know personally anything beyond having seen them once eating human flesh ; but we have heard these things, and believe them ; they are well known.’

“ Sheriff Moksain corroborated this latter statement generally ; as he declared there was no doubt of the Jangkang tribe being cannibals ; but he had never seen them eat human flesh ; and Brereton likewise heard of a tribe in the interior of the Sadong being cannibals. There is clue enough, however, to settle the point ; and, without being positive in an opinion, I can only say that the evidence I have put down was as straightforward as any I ever heard in my life, and such as I cannot doubt, until it be disproved.”

CHAPTER XIX.

SIR JAMES BROOKE VISITS LABUAN AND BORNEO—THE MURUTS—MACOTA'S DELIQUENCIES—MISGOVERNMENT OF BORNEO—PROGRESS OF LABUAN—THE MEGALOPIDIUS, ITS NEST, ETC.—POLITICS OF BRUNÉ—CHARACTER OF MUMBIN—SIR JAMES BROOKE LEAVES SARAWAK—SECRET SOCIETIES, OR HUÉ—MEASURES AGAINST THEM—SAILS FROM SINGAPORE—ADEN—THE DESERT—SUEN—CAIRO—ALEXANDRIA—MALTA.

“BORNEO, December 24th.—A rough passage brought me to Labuan from Sarāwak. I was overwhelmed with business for three days, and then started for this place, to see whether I could do anything to help the unfortunate Muruts of Limbang.

“Driven to desperation by oppression, this unfortunate people rose on their brutal tyrants and put some to death ; but they cannot hold out against the Borneans, and the treachery of some of their own tribe. Their wives and children are yet safe ; but six men and women have been killed ; and I fear greater horrors are impending—death, plunder, and slavery. I think a remonstrance will be fully justified ; for no civilised man can stand by and see such things done ; and all the forms and etiquettes

which rule the conduct of states in their intercourse must not be permitted to interfere in a case of humanity, where a Government shadow, like an evil spirit, perpetrates crimes of all sorts. It is very certain, likewise, that this Government, by force and intrigue, prevents all persons from visiting Labuan. This is a direct breach of treaty, and must be mended. Macota's finger is in this work ; certainly clever, full of schemes, which fail for want of honesty, and devices too fine-spun for comprehension. In short, I believe Macota would cheat himself, if he could not cheat any one else ; and his rapacity is as unbounded as his sense of right is deficient. Ruin has always followed his footsteps, and always will ; and he manages on every occasion to involve himself in the ruin he brings on others. Had he courage and decision, he would be as bad a man as the countries below the wind could produce ; but his cowardice and vacillation are redeeming points in his character ; and he cannot rise to the dignity of a thorough-paced villain, but is a rogue of the first water. I see Borneo dwindling away from misgovernment, and I pity it not.

“ Four years ago a fine trade sprung up, when protection was insured to the trader ; but this trade has been followed by the oppression of the poor natives—the real producers—and has died away. Trade under these governments is a curse, an unmitigated evil, which leads to the misery of the producing class ; but this evil cures itself. Trade is driven to an end, and the grasping

merchant, to whom human suffering is as nothing when balanced against profit, then becomes the unworthy and unconscious instrument of good, when the exactions of the nobles drive the community to resistance. I see light shining amid the darkness which prevails on this coast : a spirit of passive resistance in many, or most, of the rivers. Our Sarāwak nakodahs drive a profitable trade, and spread the news and the seeds of good government and fair dealing. This is the spirit that must be fostered. The Bruné Rajahs should be allowed the revenue which was their right by custom, but restrained in the exercise of that indiscriminate system of spoliation and oppression in which they delight. This is beyond their comprehension, beyond their wishes, and, in fact, beyond their attainment ; for some five or six thousand rapacious vagabonds, of high blood, scramble for what they can get, to support themselves in a life of vicious poverty, and hand-to-mouth indolence. I am weary of dealing with a Government without power, without faith, without wit, and without honesty. I will guard our rights, and let them plunge forward on their career of ruin under the guidance of Macota, the idiocy of the Sultan, the procrastination of Mumein, and the weakness of Muda Mahomed. This last family interests me ; and, if I have the means, I will snatch them from the burning. The Sultan and the chief Rajahs of Bruné might be pensioned by a civilised Government, or an individual richer than I am, and a transfer of their nominal rights might thus be acquired ;

but if this was done, how pay ? how control the thousands of Pangerans, and Pangerans' Pangerans ? It is best to leave the difficulty to be solved by time.

“I would take charge of the southern rivers from which the Sultan has derived no revenue for some fifty years ; but to collect and sell the revenue, and arrange the internal affairs of these countries, would be troublesome ; though I doubt not that some of them, at least, would compound for the payment of a fixed revenue to the Sultan, on the understanding that they were to enjoy a freedom from all other taxation, and a participation in the privileges of Sarāwak. Thus much might be done ; yet I do not go beyond mentioning this to the Government here ; for it would be a troublesome and thankless task. I would do it, because it would increase the happiness of thousands, it would advance commerce, and give stability to the right order of affairs.

“ 28th, Labuan.—I am on the whole well satisfied with the progress of Labuan, slow though it be ; there is a glimmering of confidence amongst the natives of the coast, and time will raise the settlement above the obstructions cast in its way by the intrigues of Bruné. Where was strife last year, is now peace and good fellowship, amongst the the Europeans ; trade begins to creep into the place, and if there be reliance on right principles it will rise, spite of the factious outcry at home, and the ill-will in Borneo. Thus much.—I can write no more in detail in my present condition.

“ 29th.—I crossed over to Daat in *Nemesis*, to witness the labours of the wondrous bird *Megapodius*.

“ *Megapodius*, or *Leipoa*, called by the natives by the very appropriate name of *Menambun* (from *Tambun*, to pile, to heap up). I took the specimen sent to Sarāwak for a *Francolin*; and there is no doubt that it is a *galinaceous* bird.

“ Its nest, or heap, was found close to the edge of the sea sand, and was formed over a fallen *Aru* tree (*Cassnarina*) and covered, but not densely, with shrubs. The pile was sixty feet in circumference, by four and a half feet in height, made from the light sandy soil around. At the top were eight holes or entrances, irregularly shaped; and near one of these holes was the recent scratching of the bird.

“ About four months ago this same heap was partially destroyed by Low; since which time the birds had entirely repaired it. We attacked the heap with vigour; and it was soon apparent, from the size of the living roots within, that it is a permanent residence, and that it has been inhabited many years; and this will account for the undisturbed state of the ground around, in which there is no trace of excavation, nor any disturbance of the soil or leaves. Within the heap were not only live roots of the size of a man's arm, but sea-shells, pieces of coral, old seeds from the surrounding trees, and other substances. The sea may occasionally rise to the foot of the heap, and thus fill up the excavations made; yet this

must be of very rare occurrence, from the nature of the trees which flourish close to it ; as the wild Mangusteen, and other trees would not live, if touched often by salt-water.

“The entrances ran irregularly down into the heap ; and we therefore commenced our labour on a level with the ground, and cut a trench through the mass of rubbish, and then opened another trench at right angles with the first. Our labour was rewarded by the prize of nine eggs in all ; and we saw the débris of some half a dozen or more eggs, from one of which the bird had recently escaped. In one of the eggs, which was broken by the spade, a young bird was found, which in a day or two more would have come out : it was living but had been struck. It was fully feathered in the egg, and the young bird hatched in Low’s egg was also feathered, and began to scratch vigorously the moment he was free. This leaves but little doubt that the young one scratches its way out of the heap, after being hatched, without the superintendence of the parents. Six of the eggs found were placed with the big end uppermost ; two were lying on their sides, and one was broken in digging.

“Is this enormous heap formed by many birds or by one or two pairs only ?

“I should certainly say, wonderful as it is, that it is the work of a pair. The huge heap was evidently very old, and yet the number of eggs and eggshells, and other traces of habitation found in it were very few, if we sup-

pose it to be the nest of a flock of these birds. It is more likely, therefore, to be the nest of one pair, or at most of two; and formed year after year by fresh accumulations. Altogether it is an irregular, shapeless, ugly, loose mass, which might easily escape detection.

“The bird, as I have described, is of a brown colour, a heavy flyer,—the tail not above a couple of inches in length. The cock bird is represented as slightly tinged with a green hue; the cheeks are naked and red; round the eyes red likewise. The Menambun is found in Labuan, and the surrounding islets: it is also abundant in the Sulu seas; but it is said not to be found on the mainland of Borneo. The eggs, according to the natives, are excellent eating, but the birds coarse and bad.

“I must add that the thermometer stood at 88 deg. in the holes whence the eggs had been removed; and, allowing this to be two degrees below the real heat, from the entrance of the external air, it would give 90 deg. as the heat required for hatching. There is certainly no heat from vegetable fermentation in the nests that I saw.

“In the ‘*Moniteur des Indes*,’ vol. ii., No. 5, pp. 131 and 132, is an account of a species of this bird, called Malco, but different from the bird here described, and placed in a group altogether new and sufficiently doubtful, called Macrocephalon.

“The brilliant plumage of the Celebes bird, remarkable for its ‘*forte bosse derrière la tête*,’ and the very name of

'*Megapodius rubripes*' decides against its affinity with our bird.

"Sunday, 5th.—St. John returned in *Nemesis*, from Bruné, bringing with him Nakodah Gadore and Abdul Ajak, and their followers. Some two thousand people are prepared to leave the city, and take up their residence at Labuan, or at the mouth of the Kaleas River.

"The Sultan, beyond a doubt, is dying; and with his imbecile and vicious life the very pretence of government will cease. That he is a weak man, with as small an amount of reason as can constitute a responsible creature, must be a palliation of his crimes in the sight of God; but this very feebleness of intellect has with him leaned invariably to evil counsel, to rapacity, oppression, and violence. He has been invariably the tool of the bad, never the obedient child of the good. Thus let him pass away, pitied and forgiven, but unlamented and unhonoured, and another example that weakness in a monarch is productive of more suffering to the people than vice.

"Murnein at the same time lay dangerously ill; and if he likewise dies, the last restraining power will be removed, and we shall have aspirants to the throne as thick as mushrooms, and as easily trodden under foot.

"If Bruné deserved pity, I would bestow it; but it is a wicked and vicious city, and the seat of a wicked and vicious Government. Its downfall must produce good; and its existence has not been dignified enough to merit

commiseration. Now let them remember the noble blood that they have spilt ;—now let them mourn the fate of the amiable Muda Hassim, and the gallant Budrudeen ; and trace the downfall of their empire to the brutal massacre of 1845.

“ Yet Mumein, until acted upon by Der Macota, was a good man, and with some ability and some honesty ; but fitter for a merchant than a minister,—vacillating, and indolent and procrastinating, when called upon to act himself : he has now become dishonest, base, and intriguing.

“ My letter has released the people of Burong Pingé ; and I hope it may save the poor Muruts of Limbang.

“ I am weak and ill still ; but the prospects of Labuan are cheering ; the Company is one drawback, but we can do without the Company soon.

“ January 7th.—A Menambun hen, probably young, being not much more than half the size of the specimen described in Sarāwak. That specimen was of a cock bird, from the size. The present one is of a brown—less marked than a chestnut-brown with red, and less green than an olive brown ; on the back and top of the head, the breast, tail, &c., slate-coloured ; eye brown, particularly large and full ; sides of the head naked, reddish ; nostrils large and naked ; ditto ears ; wings heavy and convex ; legs powerful, as described before. The bird, however, is a young one.

“ 18th, *Nemesis*, Jan., 1851.—I yesterday left Sarāwak ;

and parting at Santobong from Brooke, McDougall, St. John, and Crookshank, soon cleared the channel, and lost sight of the mountain. At eleven we rounded Datu ; and this morning at nine are nearly off St. Pierre, the Puto Mori of the natives.

“ Farewell, my adopted country. I leave prosperity and peace behind ; and if it be that I return no more, still what has been done will not pass away with me.

“ I have a great confidence in the ability and judgment of my successor ; and the permanency of the Government is based on the love of the people to the existing order of things. A rising revenue, and yet a very light one, will support a simple and unpretending Government ; and commerce will flourish by freedom from all restrictions. Farewell then Sarāwak, and all the dear inhabitants it contains !—some few dear to me from a community of mind ; many from their integrity, gentleness, and simplicity ; most from habit and interest. We may moralise on man’s ingratitude ; but I can declare, as far as my experience goes, that man is grateful for benefits, according to his nature and situation ; and more we ought not to expect. He is not an angel ; and those who look for a snivelling profession of obligation, or who would exact such from him, will be disappointed. Gratitude and cambric are not indissolubly bound together, and how frightful a burden would obligation to our fellow-mortals be, if it entailed on us a necessity for everlasting cant and base grovelling. Man is grateful enough ; and those who

say the contrary are the very persons who deserve little gratitude, even if they conferred a favour, which they seldom enough do.

“ I was only three whole days in Sarāwak ; and during that time I had to renew my inquiries into the operations of the secret societies amongst the Chinese. When there a month before, I called together all the principal men, told them I was acquainted with the endeavour to get up a Hué or Fué, and warned them of the consequences. The Government of Sincapore, which, judged by English laws, could not act (I said) against these societies ; but at Sarāwak they would find it different ; for justice was more speedy, and looked less to forms of procedure.

“ This and much more I said. Let them beware, I concluded, and stop in time ; for I should gain evidence against them, and should not hesitate to punish so great a crime as setting up a secret society to overawe the Government, and to terrify their own countrymen. It could not, and should not be allowed.

“ On my return I found that the warning thus publicly given had had no effect ; and that a few individuals, *all from Sincapore*, were active in enrolling members, and by persuasion and threats inducing or forcing the Sambah Chinese into the society. An ambassador from a Hué in Sincapore had come over ; two or three respectable men were busy in the cause ; and several of a poorer class were active agents and emissaries. *In private* this was readily stated by many of the Chinese, some Sambah Chinese,

some Malacca Chinese, some from up the country, and some living at Kuching.

“ This testimony was given to different persons by witnesses not even acquainted with each other, and who could have no object in making the statements they did. There could not be a suspicion of collusion ; the evidence was clear, consistent and conclusive as to the general fact and the guilt of particular individuals ; and yet not one of these witnesses could be induced to come forward in public : they all declared that it was as much as their lives were worth ; that I had no power to protect them. In Sarāwak, in Sincapore, in China, wherever the Hué had its ramifications, there they would be put to death. The system of intimidation, however managed, was complete ; and the only option was to allow the society to increase and flourish, as at Sincapore, and gradually to assume all the functions of government, with more than the terrors of government ; or to strike at it in its infancy, and to assure the members of the inquisition that they were not safe in their own persons, whilst acting against others.

“ I did not hesitate long : I resolved to get rid of a secret inquisition, which would subvert government, pollute the springs of morality, and shake the very foundations of society, even at the expense of the forms of justice. If this society were permitted to exist, there was an end of justice in the country. To convict by proceeding openly was impossible ; conviction would only lead to the simple

fact of the existence of an illegal society ; it would not end the society, any more than the conviction of one or two of its members for crime would deter the others from committing the same crime, under the obligation of oaths, and from a sense of mistaken duty. The existence of this secret society was opposed to the administration of justice, and therefore I resolved to strike at the embryo of the lurking hydra. I seized two active agents, and summoned about a dozen others,—at the head of them Kayun, the ambassador from Singapore. The court on the following morning was crowded with Chinese and Malays. The datus and the magistrates were present ; and all after some consultation agreed with me, the majority wishing to go much further. First we had up Kayun, Achin (a Singapore man), and another respectable shopkeeper.

‘I addressed them as follows :—

“‘I have called the people together on the subject of the Hué which the Chinese are establishing in this country. We all know what this Hué is ; and if once we let it arise amongst us, we shall have two governments in Sarāwak, the one doing justice and punishing openly in this court, the other dealing in the dark and punishing men secretly. This can never be permitted ; and it would be better to drive every Chinaman out of the country, than to allow them to form a secret society, from which no man would be safe. In Singapore the Hué exists ; but the Government of Singapore does not know how to deal with such societies.

“ ‘In Sarāwak the Government is strong, and these Hués cannot exist. I have before warned the Chinese to desist from forming a Hué ; I told them that it would lead to great troubles, and that those guilty of entering this society would be punished, and put to death if necessary, to deter others. They have not listened to the advice then given ; and now they shall see that I am always as good as my word ; and this Court, for the sake of all the people of the country, will exert its full authority to suppress a very great evil. In the name of the Court, I tell the Chinese concerned that, if the punishment now awarded is not sufficient, on the next occasion all of them concerned shall be put to death. Kayun, you are the head man of this Hué ; you have come from Sincapore as a deputy from the society to establish their laws in Sarāwak. You think you are safe, because you can frighten your countrymen from coming forward to give evidence ; but you are not safe ; and as you work in the dark against this Government, this Government will work in the dark against you. As you terrify others, so this Court will terrify you ; as you strike others in secret, so this Court will strike you in secret. As the head man your crime is worthy of death, and therefore prepare yourself. Let him be taken to the fort, and there kept till the Court decides his final sentence.’

“The two other men were fined a hundred dollars each ; to be put to death if brought up again.

“Assan and the blacksmith were ordered two dozen, and

imprisonment; the rest were warned and dismissed. Kayun's punishment was afterwards commuted to perpetual banishment, and a fine of a hundred dollars.

"I believe the punishment gave great satisfaction amongst the majority of the Chinese; and I believe it was just, though arbitrary and irregular.

"We are often in this world obliged to make choice between evils; and I believe in this case I have chosen the lesser evil of the two.

"A secret society dealing with a strong hand, the members of which are bound by solemn oaths, can only have had its origin under a vicious government. Here, wrongs they have none; and a few bad men introduce the system, to gain power. By degrees they force or frighten numbers to join them; they become a secret government; their judgments are the judgments of darkness; it is a reign of terror; an offshoot of hell. I am content to have crushed it in the bud; and if an injustice has been done, it has been done to prevent a continued system of injustice, and to repress a great evil. The state of Singapore is a beacon to warn Sarāwak.

"Farewell Sarāwak! Farewell Borneo! Let me cast care and business away, and turn my mind to fair Italy, and relaxation and mirth,—such mirth as forty-seven years can afford, and such amusement as that age can enjoy.*

"8th, February 1851.—My stay at Singapore was un-

* Persecution and business, rather than relaxation and mirth, have been Sir James Brooke's lot since his return to England. —H. K.

marked by any event ; but it is the abiding place at present of hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness.

“I do not trouble myself to note down all the raging enmity against myself, the secret treachery of the fair-faced, or the weakness of the simpletons. Yet have I there many and true friends, men of worth and integrity.

“The whole band are not worth a thought, and should not give a pang to an honest man. It is the struggle which every man rising to position must engage in.

“I fear not, nor do my spirits flag, though my body may fail. Yesterday I left this fair spot in the steamer *Pekin*.

“9th, Penang.—Saw the bishop, and Blundell ; and off after four hours’ detention. Away—Away—Charley Grant with me, in a comfortable cabin ; Channon as attendant.

“16th, Point de Galle.—Arrived yesterday after a pleasant voyage. Went to the Cinnamon Gardens, for want of something better to do ; nothing to see, but how corrupted a portion of the population become by the influx of visitors.

“This morning the *Hindustan* arrived from Calcutta, not over-full of passengers ; and consequently we got the cabin we had already paid for. At four or five we start ; and glad shall I be to leave this hot glaring hole of a place. The only thing which interested me was the mode by which they prepare the husk of the cocoa-nut into koir fibre, for exportation to England. This might become a valuable commodity in Sarawak and Labuan.

“ Malta, 17th March, 1851.—Our voyage continued agreeably, and we enjoyed uninterrupted fine weather. Aden is a frightful and desolate rock ; and the Turkish wall, as it is now fortified, is certainly meant to resist a European army, and never built to protect the place from the wandering tribes of Arabs. Here, again, was that hateful, barefaced, impudent mendicancy, generated by the regular transit of passengers. We obtained a good view of the Babelmandel Straits ; but all the way from Aden to Suez the prospect is of that hideous barren character, from which my mind shrinks, and which is so strongly contrasted with the verdure and luxuriance of the far East. The desert is the only interesting place ; and there the desolation and expanse, the howling wilderness, affect the mind, and impart a degree of dreary charm. I liked the desert ships, and the villanous-looking Arabs who steer them. Never was contrast greater than between Suez and Sarāwak ; and wondrous is it that habit and association can render the former pleasanter to the denizens of the soil than the latter. Cairo is a picturesque and Eastern City—emphatically so called by travellers. I stood on the citadel, and gazed on the Pyramids ; but I could conjure up no dream of the Pharaohs ; and I looked on father Nile, and thought it pleasant to discover that there was a river ; and the green fields were doubly agreeable to eye and to sense, when contrasted with the barren sand. The beauty of the Valley of the Nile is felt, on account of the contrast with

the horrible desert. It is on this account fully appreciated, and over-praised in relation to other and fairer scenes. Looking on the city from the height, or walking through its streets, one is struck with the picturesque effects ; the squalid, unhealthy, dirty aspect of men and things. The picturesque and the dirty are synonymous terms in a traveller's diary ; and the filthy delight is in perfection in Cairo, whether to the eye or to the nose.

“ From Cairo we dropped down to Atfe, the entrance of the Mah'moudie Canal, and were there detained for several hours, during which I took a walk with Hooker—the pleasantest time I passed in Egypt ; the sun shone, the air was bracing, the fields were green, and we plucked English flowers ! Alexandria is devoid of interest, excepting to an interest-hunter ; but it is something once more to stand on the brink of the blue Mediterranean. I left Egypt with pleasure. In spite of antiquity and association, it is a disagreeable country ; a government begun at the wrong end ; a wretched and ground-down population ; and ships, and armies, and palaces, and manufactures, supported by their sufferings. Here the folks are not beggars ; they do not beg, but they demand. ‘ Bukish,’ (a present) is a universal cry amongst them. Even the sentry at the palace-gate rushed at us, musket and bayonet in hand, bellowing for ‘ bukish.’ He asked for bread, and I gave him a stone : the unsoldierly rascal ! and yet these poor military rascals of the Pasha's are to be pitied. Much of interest attaches to the politics of Egypt : the country has

many capabilities ; but it is not the fertility of the soil, nor the produce of the land which will attract us there ; but, in case of war, it must be a struggle to attack and defend the overland communication with India ; and whither may not this lead ? Farewell Egypt ! I cannot leave the land without recording the brilliant starlight nights : the atmosphere was surprisingly pure ; but the climate was as treacherous as a cold wind and scorching sun could make it. We reached Malta in four days and a half ; for the last two it was blowing a gale in our teeth, and our arrival in Malta harbour was a relief. Here we bade adieu to many pleasant companions, and retired into our quarantine prison on Friday the 14th, whence we were this morning released.

“ I am now writing in Dunsford's hotel, and rejoicing that I am not exposed to the gale blowing from the north-west.”

CHAPTER XX.

MEANDER SAILS FOR SYDNEY—ANJER—BATAVIA ROADS—AMERICAN LIBERALITY—
 HOSPITALITIES AT BATAVIA—COMMERCE OF JAVA—FLYING CANOES—BALI LAKES
 —VOLCANIC MOUNTAINS—COMBA—LOMBOK—SUTTEE—FLORES—PIRATES AGAIN
 —TIMOR—PORT ESSINGTON—COBOURGH PENINSULA—CANNIBALISM—HABITS OF
 THE NATIVES.

ON the 24th September, 1849, we took leave of many kind friends at Singapore, and proceeded on a more interesting voyage than usually falls to the lot of men-of-war.

Our orders were, after having removed the garrison and stores from Port Essington, to visit Sydney and Auckland, and call at the Friendly and Society Islands, on our way to Valparaiso.

The Australian schooner we sent in advance, with directions to wait for us in the Straits of Sunda. We ran between the Islands of Banca and Billiton on the 29th, and anchored in Anjer roads on the 1st October.

Anjer is nothing in itself; a small Dutch town and fort; clean, as most Dutch places are, with a large

comparatively dirty-looking Malay village attached, which is inhabited partly by Chinese. While wandering about, we were invited to enter one of their abodes by a withered-looking specimen of the Celestial Empire, who had, as we understood, just been fined 8000 rupees for smuggling; he was an opium farmer, and was the only person in that district licensed to retail it. A large revenue is raised in the following manner:—In the first place, the Government prohibit the wholesale disposal of opium by any one but themselves: they then fix a high remunerating price; for instance,—say a chest costs the Government 400 dollars, they fix the price at 2000 rupees; they then have an auction, and the man who bids for most chests at the Government price gets the license (the only one in the district) for retailing. By this system an enormous revenue is obtained, amounting, I was informed, to a million sterling, without the Government having the discredit of encouraging the use of the pernicious drug. The retail price to repay the farmer being so high, the poor labourer cannot afford to use it; he is not, therefore, reduced to the pitiful condition in which we see the Chinese at Singapore, as the occasional whiffs which he is enabled to enjoy are not sufficient to undermine his constitution.

The smuggling of opium is easily prevented, as in addition to the measures taken by Government, it is worth while to the opium farmers to employ look-out men for that purpose: and the farmer being the only

person who would attempt to smuggle, he is easily watched.

The walls of the forts and Government buildings are well whitewashed, and the roofs coal-tarred. The tree of Anjer is a striking object; it is a banyan of great size, and grows close to the landing-place. From the summit of this tree rises a flag-staff, from which the handsome tri-coloured flag of the Netherlands' Government floats gracefully. The communication between the top and bottom of this gigantic tree is by means of a succession of bamboo ladders. Anjer is the constant resort of vessels passing through the Straits of Sunda, and may be called the great key to the Eastern Archipelago. Letters left at this place, properly addressed, will find their way to any part of the world. The boats, which run alongside each vessel that passes, are laden with an endless variety of fruits, vegetables, live stock, monkeys, birds, &c., to suit the different tastes and wants of the outward or homeward-bound traders, at a very moderate charge. Boats with half-ton casks filled with excellent water are constantly ready, and sent alongside on application being made to the proper authorities. I imagine this supply of water to be one of the little perquisites appertaining to the governor.

Having despatched the schooner to Sydney by the western coast of Australia, we weighed on the afternoon of the 3rd.

Our route to the eastward for the next 3000 miles lay between the 6th and 10th degrees of south latitude, during

which we should pass a succession of beautiful islands, with the sea in all probability so smooth that a canoe might live in it ; the finest weather ; and the prevailing winds in our favour.

A short run carried us into Batavia roads. On nearing this spacious and beautiful anchorage, in which the flags of all nations may be seen flying from the mast-heads of a variety of vessels, from the prahus of the Spice Islands to the magnificent traders of the United States, you are at once impressed with the idea that you are approaching a large and opulent city. We passed inside the fortified island of Onrust, on which stands the great naval arsenal, and took up a berth near the flag-ship.

The ship next to us on the other side happened to be one with a cargo of Wenham Lake ice, the master of which immediately sent on board to say that the officers of the frigate were welcome to as much ice as they liked to send for. I have ever found much generosity and honest frankness among the officers of the American merchant-ships. They calculate, and they guess, and have a fair notion of the value of a dollar, and are smart fellows at a bargain ; they can spit at a mark, and may occasionally deal a little in the marvellous sea-serpent line ; but they are very amusing with it all, and liberal : what they offer they mean you to accept, and do not expect a return. As a shell-collector I have frequently sent alongside their whalers, as well as other traders, whence my gig's crew

have generally returned with the full value of anything they might have taken to exchange.

Batavia deserves a great deal more notice than we had time to bestow upon it, being the capital of all the Dutch possessions in the East, with a mixed population, chiefly Javanese, of about 120,000. Like Manilla, the city is approached from seaward by a long straight canal, running between two massive walls ; and, as there is a strong current generally setting out, the easiest way to stem it is to land the crew, and let them track the boat. The houses near the sea, although large and handsome buildings, are used by the merchants for business purposes only ; the situation is on a swampy flat, and at certain times very unhealthy. Even during our short stay in the roads, some of those on board did not escape the fatal effects of the malaria wafted off by the nocturnal land-breezes. The suburbs, extending over the higher grounds to a distance of several miles inland, are most healthy and very beautiful ; they present a succession of large handsome houses, standing in extensive gardens, and surrounded by cocoa-nut, banana, and other trees, whose shade imparts a delightful freshness to the apartments. The roads to this part from the coast are broad, with streams of fresh water on both sides. In these suburban portions are the dwellings of the Europeans ; so that the city, which is all activity and animation by day, becomes after 4. p. m. as melancholy and deserted as if infected with the plague.

The appearance of a British man-of-war in Batavia

roads is so uncommon, that the *Mæander* at first excited considerable speculations as to our intentions ; but when we had explained our destination, and that our chief object in running in was to pay our respects to His Serene Highness the Duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar, added to our anxiety to meet the steamer daily expected from Singapore with the European Mail, the explanation seemed to be quite satisfactory. Being myself of Dutch extraction, I could both evince and excite a little natural curiosity ; and in fact we were treated with unbounded hospitality and every kind attention.

We were first entertained at a grand dinner given by the Duke of Saxe Weimar, General and Commander-in-Chief of the land forces ; whose example was followed by several of the heads of departments. We had dinners and balls in rapid succession. Nothing could exceed the kind welcome which we received from the whole mercantile community, among whom our countrymen stand preeminent. There was not an officer or a youngster in the ship that did not find a home ; houses and carriages were everywhere placed at their disposal. The Batavia Races took place too while we were there. The higher prizes were all carried off by one or two good horses of English breed ; but as the stakes decreased in value, the races were better contested. The course is circular, pretty to look at, and tolerably good. The enterprising members of this turf club made their appearance in scarlet coats. A ball and supper followed ; and these seemed to be

thought by most of our youngsters the best part of the day's proceedings.

The roads throughout Java are good, and the means of posting ample, though it is not easy for a foreigner to obtain permission to roam freely through the country.

The mail having arrived, with great regret we weighed anchor, to prosecute our voyage, having made many friends during our short stay. The occasional visit of a man-of-war here does much good, and is a gratification to our countrymen, who thus feel that their interests are not neglected. I heard of one British firm alone at Batavia having paid in the year Customs' duties to the amount of £30,000.

Java has all the beauty of larger tropical islands, with an uncommon degree of cultivation. The run along the northern side of the great chain of islands, which form the southern boundary of the Indian Archipelago, was interesting in the extreme.

As we kept the Java coast, the fishing canoes, or "flying canoes of Java," as they are not inaptly styled, were each morning objects of surprise and admiration. They are long, but very narrow—just broad enough to enable a man to sit between the gunwales; the crew seldom exceeds four men. They are rendered steady by long semicircular outriggers, one end secured to the gunwale, the other to large bamboos awash with the water, of the same length as the canoe itself; and, as they are daubed all over with some bright white substance, they have

the appearance of huge spiders crawling over the dark blue sea ; which is at the same time strange and picturesque : their speed, when propelled by paddles, is very great ; but, under their large triangular sails, they appeared to fly : the crews were very shy, and could not be induced to come nearer than was just sufficient to enable us to contemplate the tempting-looking fish, that kept opening their red gills, and flapping their tails in the bottom of the canoe.

Passing Madura and Java, we came abreast of the Island of Bali. This is the only island in the whole Archipelago where the two great forms in the Hindu religion—the Brahminical (the original) and the Buddhist (the reformed)—exist together undisturbed. This fact is most remarkable, as it is well known all over civilised Asia, that in a war which endured for ages, and desolated great regions, Buddhism was exterminated by the Brahminical worshippers ; but here the two religions subsist peaceably under the same Government. Had they quarrelled, the Mahomedans would undoubtedly have made use of their animosity, in order to complete their schemes of conquest, as they have done in all the neighbouring islands. The Balinese are an independent, and comparatively civilised race, and very jealous of the encroachments of their powerful neighbours : the consequence is that Bali has been the scene of two campaigns ; in the first the Balis had some advantage ; in the latter they were reduced, but by no means humbled. Never-

theless they are in a fair way of becoming a Dutch dependency, or, as our Yankee friends would say, of being *annexed*.

Bali has a remarkably high peak ; and, from the situation in which we viewed it, the island looked like one large mountain sloping out into extensive and rich plains. It has inland lakes, or reservoirs of water, situated several thousand feet above the level of the sea. These lakes all contain excellent fresh water, and are said to have tides whose rise and fall correspond with that of the sea. This is "curious if true." The lakes are of great but irregular depth. In some parts, bottom has been found at from forty to fifty fathoms, and in others, it is said that no soundings can be obtained at the depth of several hundred.

These lakes must very much resemble that which we discovered in the Island of Cagayan Soloo, except in the alleged rise and fall of tide. They contain water sufficient to irrigate the inhabited parts of the island, with little trouble or expense to the natives ; and, however much water may be drawn from them, they never appear to decrease ; so that these lakes form the riches of Bali, a country where there are no great rivers ; and without them it is evident that so great a population could not be maintained. The soil produces two crops in the year ; and, as we passed along, we perceived an abundance both of cattle and vegetables.

In the course of our run we passed numerous volcanic

mountains ; but when in the 123rd deg. of longitude, two islands attracted our particular attention. One of them, Comba, of a conical shape, had all day been shooting up vast volumes of smoke : after dark, when we had at the distance of a few miles opened out the eastern side, we observed the burning lava ascending high into the air, as well as boiling over the mouth of the crater in immense liquid masses ; the red hot stream rolling down the side of the mountain, and losing none of its brightness until it reached the sea.

The next island in our course was Lombok ; we passed to the northward of it. Its rulers are Hindus, while their subjects are Mahomedan. As it may be interesting to some of my readers to know the singular modification which the Hindu practice of Suttee has undergone, I make the following extract on the subject, from the "Journal of the Indian Archipelago." The paper is from the pen of Mr. Tellingier :—

"On Lombok, wives may suffer themselves to be burned after the death of their husbands—they are not compelled to it. They have the choice of allowing themselves to be burned or krised ; the first is the most rare. The wives of the Rajahs, however, suffer themselves to be burned. Having been present at one of these horrible spectacles, I will relate how it was conducted.

"The gusti, who died at Ampanan, left three wives. One of them would let herself be krised for his honour, and that against the will of all on both sides of her family.

The woman was still young and beautiful ; she had no children. They said to me that a woman who, under such circumstances, suffered herself to be killed, had indeed loved her husband. She intended to accompany him on his long journey to the gods, and she hoped to be his favourite in the other world.

“ The day after the death of the *gusti*, his wife took many baths ; she was clothed in the richest manner ; she passed the day with her relatives and friends in eating, drinking, chewing of *sirih*, and praying. About the middle of the space before the house, they had erected two scaffoldings or platforms of bamboo, of the length of a man, and three feet above the ground. Under these they had dug a small pit to receive the water and the blood that should flow. In a small house at one side, and opposite these frame-works, were two others entirely similar. This house was immediately behind the *bali bali*.

“ At four o'clock in the afternoon, men brought out the body of the *gusti* wrapped in fine linen, and placed it on the left of the two central platforms. A priest of *Mataram* removed the cloth from the body, while young persons hastened to screen it from the public gaze. They threw much water over the corpse, washed it, combed the hair, and covered the whole body with *châmpáká* and *kánángá* flowers. They then brought a white net. The priest took a silver cup filled with holy water (called *chor*) on which he strewed flowers. He first sprinkled the deceased with this water, and then poured it through the

net on the body, which he blessed, praying, singing, and making various mystical and symbolical motions. He afterwards powdered it with flour of coloured rice, and chopped flowers, and placed it on dry mats.

“ Women brought out the wife of the gusti with her arms crossed. She was clothed with a piece of white linen only. Her hair was crowned with flowers of the *Chrysanthemum Indicum*. She was quiet, and betrayed neither fear nor regret. She placed herself standing before the body of her husband, raised her arms on high, and made a prayer in silence. Women approached her, and presented to her small bouquets of *kembang spatu*, and other flowers. She took them one by one, and placed them between the fingers of her hands, raised above her head. On this the women took them away and dried them. On receiving and giving back each bouquet, the wife of the gusti turned a little to the right, so that when she had received the whole, she had turned quite round. She prayed anew in silence, went to the corpse of her husband, kissed it on the head, the breast, below the navel, the knees, the feet, and returned to her place. They took off her rings. She crossed her arms on her breast. Two women took her by the arms. Her brother (this time a brother by adoption) placed himself before her, and asked her with a soft voice if she was determined to die, and when she gave a sign of assent with her head, he asked her forgiveness for being obliged to kill her. At once he seized his kris, and stabbed her on the left side of

the breast, but not deeply, so that she remained standing. He then threw his kris down, and ran off. A man of consideration approached her, and buried his kris to the hilt in the breast of the unfortunate woman, who sunk down at once, without uttering a cry. The women placed her on a mat, and sought by rolling and pressure to cause the blood to flow as quickly as possible. The victim being not yet dead, she was stabbed again with a kris between the shoulders. They then laid her on the second platform, near her husband. The same ceremonies that had taken place for him, now began for the wife. When all was ended, both bodies were covered with resin and cosmetic stuffs, enveloped in white linen, and placed in the small side-house on the platforms. There they remain until the time is come when they are burned together.

“It is always a near relation who gives the first wound with the kris, but never father or son. Sometimes dreadful spectacles occur ; such was one at which Mr. K. was present. The woman had received eight kris stabs and was yet quite sensible. At last she screamed out, driven by the dreadful pain, ‘cruel wretches, are you not able to give me a stab that will kill me!’ A gusti who stood behind her, on this, pierced her through and through with his kris.

“The native spectators, whom I had around me, saw in this slaughter which took place before our eyes nothing shocking. They laughed and talked as if it was nothing. The man who had given the three last stabs wiped his

kris, and restored it to its place in as cold-blooded a manner as a butcher would have done after slaughtering an animal."

Mr. Praed's elegant allusion to the self-devotion of a New Zealand widow is sufficiently applicable here :—

"The frantic widow folds upon her breast
 Her glittering trinkets and her gorgeous vest,
 Surrounds her neck with many a mystic charm,
 Claps the rich bracelet in her desperate arm,
 Binds her black hair, and stains her eyelids' fringe
 With the jet lustre of the Henow's tinge ;
 Then, on the spot where those dear ashes lie,
 In bigot transport sits her down to die ;
 Her swarthy brothers mark the wasted cheek,
 The straining eye-ball, and the stifled shriek ;
 And sing the praises of her deathless name,
 As the last flutter racks her tortur'd frame.
 They sleep together : o'er the natural tomb
 The lichen'd pine rears up its form of gloom,
 And lone acacias shed their shadow gray,
 Bloomless and leafless, o'er the buried clay ;
 And often there—when, calmly, coldly bright,
 The midnight moon pours down her ghastly light,
 With solemn murmur, and with silent tread,
 The dance is order'd, and the verse is said ;
 And sights of wonder, sounds of spectral fear,
 Scare the quick glance, and chill the startled ear."

After Lombok we passed Surubawa and Comodo successively. The next island of note is that of Flores.

Here we once more found ourselves within the baneful influence of piracy. The natives captured from this island used to be much esteemed by the Celebes pirates as slaves. Directly we had passed beyond the influence of Dutch protection, no more fishing canocs enlivened the scene, no smoke rose from the numerous inlets along the coasts of these beautiful islands, to indicate the peaceful

abode of human beings. There was the dense green vegetation of the jungle, but a death-like stillness reigned supreme.

The following is translated from a Dutch Journal :—
“On the island of Flores there lives a race called, on the South Coast, Rakka, who not only devour their enemies, but with whom custom requires that the son shall cut the body of his deceased father in pieces, and sell the flesh to the inhabitants at the high price of its weight in gold. This flesh is greedily eaten by the people as a great delicacy. If the father was heavy and of great size the son considers himself particularly fortunate. The population of Endore on the same island is also very greedy of human flesh. But these cannibals confine themselves to the heart which, with incredible dexterity, they extract from the body by giving one blow under the left shoulder-blade. It is then cut into very small pieces and eaten completely raw by the bystanders, who belong to the same race.” I am not yet able to corroborate this.

Passing in nearly the same latitude, the islands of Andenara, Lomblen, Pantar, and Ombay, we made the comparatively large island of Timor, on the north-west side of which the Portuguese flag may be seen flying at Delly, an unhealthy spot, with nothing to recommend it in any way. It is a locality, however, deserving the attention of the Peninsular and Oriental S.N. Company, as convenient for the establishment of a Coal Depôt ; although I should rather recommend Cape York

in Australia, now that all the narrow parts of the Inner Passage of Torres Straits have been most accurately surveyed by the late Captain Owen Stanley, as I imagine the smooth-water and fine-weather route, by which we came from Sincapore, far more desirable and more economical than that by the open sea.

Hence shaping a course more to the south-east, between the two small islands of Babi and Kambing (Pig and Goat), and leaving Wetta on our left, we stood along the north end of Timor ; and on the 5th of November, having rounded Pulo Jackie, we passed through this long chain of beautiful islands, and steered for Port Essington. A strong current set us down to the westward. When working up the Australian coast, we were boarded by a canoe with a crew of six of the veriest looking savages I had yet beheld : one of them, wearing a pair of trowsers, the only article of apparel among them, announced himself, in tolerable English, as one of the tribe attached to the settlement at Port Essington. We came to, on the evening of the 12th of November, in the outer anchorage ; and immediately communicated to Captain McArthur and the party of Marines the unexpected and acceptable intelligence that we were come to remove them. While the garrison however rejoiced, the natives, especially the poor women, showed their grief by cutting their heads and faces with sharp flints, and otherwise disfiguring their already unprepossessing persons.

Port Essington is situated on Cobourg peninsula, at the

most northern part of Australia. The latitude of the pier-head of the then settlement of Victoria is $11^{\circ} 21' 53''$ S., and longitude $132^{\circ} 12' 27''$ E. This port was discovered by Captain Philip King, in his survey of Australia between the years of 1818 and 1821.

After the abandonment of the Melville Island and Raffles Bay settlements, the Government resolved on forming one at Port Essington, as a harbour of refuge for vessels bound through Torres Straits, as well as a convenient place for holding commercial intercourse with the adjacent islands of the Indian Archipelago.

The settlement was established by Captain Sir J. Gordon Bremer, in the *Alligator*, assisted by Commander Owen Stanley in the *Britomart*, in October 1838. The town named Victoria, which consisted of a few wooden houses and small huts, sufficient for the accommodation of the garrison, was built near the head of the harbour, some sixteen miles from the entrance—a better site I think might have been selected, nearer the sea, which would have been cooler, and better supplied with water. An anchorage with a greater depth of water might likewise have been considered; for although, for convenience, we took the *Mæander* up off the settlement, we were much too near the bottom, had it been the stormy season of the year: the periodical gales however give ample notice of their approach.

The country about Port Essington is undulating; there are ranges of hills ten or fifteen miles from the settlement,

which run N.N.W. and S.S.E. ; their highest points, Bedwall and Roe, about 450 feet, are visible from the harbour ; the composition of these hills is of red sandstone.

The soil, particularly in the vallies, consists of a rich dark vegetable mould, having a disagreeable smell. The under soil of red earth, mixed sometimes with a white marly substance.

The valleys do not in general contain much timber. The higher parts of the country are thickly wooded with the Eucalyptes. The blue gum-trees, the finest and stateliest trees of Australia, grow along the river courses. Patches of thick jungle of various extent are found in many places, affording a secure retreat to the kangaroo, and a variety of birds. The timber found in this part of Australia is well calculated for building houses. The iron wood, which is heavy and tough, is much used by the Malays for making anchors. Melons, pumpkins, yams, sweet potatoes, bananas, chilies, pepper, pine-apple, the bread-fruit tree, some sopmangustein, and jack fruit, all grew well in the garrison gardens. The common potato, and most of the European garden vegetables, do not thrive in that climate.

A number of lagoons exist over the Cobourg peninsula ; these are full in the rainy season ; but many of them are nearly or entirely empty in the dry time of year. The water in them is generally brackish.

Within a mile and a half of the settlement is a chain of very deep pits, containing a constant supply of delicious

water. The settlement we found supplied by means of wells, which in the dry season only afforded sufficient for the wants of the garrison. Surface water is abundant all over the country. The natives can generally get a supply by boring a few feet into the sand. The rivers in the vicinity of the settlement are inconsiderable, except during the rainy season.

Port Essington is within the limits of the south-east trade-wind. Towards the end of the year westerly winds blow at intervals until March. After this month the trade-wind increases in strength and becomes steadier until the month of August, after which it is variable. The rainy season and westerly winds generally commence in December. During this season the squalls are heavy, and the showers tropical.

In the intervals of the showers, the heat of the sun is intense, and the evaporation from the moist earth so great, as to produce a steam as dense as a moderate fog. In such cases the smell is disagreeable and suffocating. The wet season ends in May. The continuation of heat and moisture during this time of the year is oppressive and debilitating in the extreme, productive of fevers and bilious affections. The months of June and July are cool and agreeable. The thermometer ranges between 63 deg. and 97 deg. at Port Essington.

The climate is decidedly unhealthy, particularly to Europeans; the most frequent affections are intermittent fevers and impairment of the digestive organs. The chief

causes are probably the heat and moisture of the climate, the land-locked harbour, the swamps and mud-banks, the mangrove marshes ; and, in the case of Europeans, want of fresh and vegetable diet, and of mental occupation and excitement.

About the middle of the dry season the natives set fire to the grass which is abundant everywhere, and at that time quite dry ; they do it annually, in order to clear the country for their wanderings, to destroy vermin, and to promote the growth of roots which they require as articles of food. The conflagration spreads with fearful rapidity and violence, consuming everything in its way, creeping up the dry bark of the trees, running along the branches to the withered leaves, and involving everything dead or alive in one common ruin, until the whole country, as far as the eye can reach, is in a grand and brilliant illumination, which, to be fully appreciated, should be seen. It is accompanied by a low murmuring sound, interrupted now and then by the loud report of the fall or bursting of some large tree, well calculated to increase the melancholy of poor wretches worn out with sickness, and without hope of relief. Realizing imaginations of the final destruction of our world then occur in vivid colours to the subdued and saddened mind.

I am informed that a fire is sometimes caused accidentally by the friction of two dry branches against each other.

The natives of the Cobourg peninsula consist of

five tribes, differing but little in physical appearance, manners, and customs, but each speaking a different dialect. These tribes frequently meet for the purposes of war or corroboree. The largest meeting seen in the neighbourhood of Port Essington did not exceed 250, including men, women, and children. They all remained together in the same encampment,—each tribe however having its own fires,—for three days, during which time the utmost harmony prevailed; nothing but singing, dancing, and eating; feats of fishing, throwing the spear, &c. They separated without having the festivities disturbed by an angry word. The tribes do not average more than 150 individuals each; this, however, must be mere conjecture, as it is difficult to arrive at numbers, where the people can only count up as high as four: but from what we saw and learned from the natives, by comparison with their own tribes, I think 150 must be near the truth. One of the tribes, distant from Port Essington about sixty miles, is said by the others to be composed of very bad men, cannibals; they are much afraid of them, and anticipated a visit from them when the settlement should be abandoned. It was resolved by three or four of the tribes to unite their forces for mutual safety, when the white men should go away. Whether such visit has been paid has not yet transpired.

The natives are well formed, and active; their limbs are straight and sufficiently muscular; their bodies erect; heads well shaped; the features generally good; lips not

very thick ; hair crisp, but not much curled ; teeth regular, white, and sound.—They go quite naked.—They have the skin scarred, a front tooth extracted, and the cartilage of their nose perforated. They are capable of undergoing considerable fatigue and privation in their wanderings, marching for days together long distances, and suffering hunger and thirst for considerable periods. They are a wandering people, and have no fixed residence ; but go from place to place as various articles of food come into season.

It is curious to see a tribe thus migrating. A line of human beings, walking in single file along a forest-path, following its windings, gives one, when viewed from a height, the idea of a large serpent dragging its length along ; or, nearer to you, it has more the appearance of a huge centipede meandering its body through the forest wastes.

On these occasions they carry all their worldly possessions with them : the women are their beasts of burden, carrying the various useful articles ; the men bear their implements of war,—spears, throwing-sticks, and hatchets,—and are always prepared for either an enemy or the chase. The aged, deformed, and sick, are carried on the backs of good Samaritans. In their migrations they are often so sorely pressed by want of food that, to appease the pangs of hunger, they are obliged to swallow balls of clay. During the hottest part of the day they make sheds of the branches of trees, by placing them standing against each

other with the leaves uppermost : this affords shelter from the sun. At night they carry fire-sticks, to keep off evil spirits. In the rainy season they strip the bark off the large trees, about seven feet in length and five in breadth ; and, by fixing each end in the ground at a distance of about three feet, they form a convex shed, which keeps off the heaviest rain, affording accommodation for two persons. They have never attempted permanent buildings, nor do they seem inclined to do so ; indeed, such as they could construct would not long resist the effects of climate, and the ravages of the white ant.

It has been the fashion with naturalists, and writers who copy their matter from their predecessors, without taking the trouble either to inquire into the subject, or to judge for themselves by actual examination, to place the Australian very low indeed in the scale of creation. If they do condescend to admit him into the human race, still they evidently show some compunction at allowing him to take his place over the head of the intelligent monkey, or the sage-looking chimpanzee. A greater mistake than this has never been made. The native of Northern Australia is intelligent and apt. His intelligence is manifested both in the daily concerns of life, and in the acquisition of languages. Many of the natives speak two or three dialects ; and some, in addition, speak English and Malay fluently. They are apt enough in learning everything that may prove useful,—some of them have gone away to Sydney, Java, and Macassar, on board

European ships, and have made good seamen ; and on their return have given intelligent accounts of what they had seen. They have been employed about the settlement in a variety of ways, and have shown no want of quickness in doing what was required of them. When riding through the jungle on a shooting excursion, I gave my gun to a naked savage to carry : I was rather astonished at his addressing me in very good English, with, "Should an opportunity offer, sir, I shall fire!" This man was frequently with me afterwards. One day he said to me, "If you English could thrash Bonaparte whenever you liked, why did you put him on an island, and starve him to death?"

A constant supply of native labour could always be had—on a small scale, of course—if they were properly fed and regularly paid. Generally they are only employed when the white man wants their aid ; and when he does not, he sends them adrift to pursue their old mode of life ; they consequently got the character,—and in a certain degree the habit—of being very idle and lazy, only willing to work when they cannot procure what they want by any other means. For instance,—if you wish a native to do anything for you which will perhaps occupy him three or four days, you must only give him as much rice and tobacco as will suffice him for one day ; if you give him more, he will not return so long as he has a bit left ; but if you give him barely sufficient for the day, he is at his post next morning. They are great cheats, thieves, and

liars ; and like most wild people are impatient of control, and seldom remain constantly in service, however well treated. It was not unusual for the young men to become attached to the officers, and to attend upon them as servants. While thus occupied, the reclaimed savage, clad in trousers of duck, a shirt of check, a many-coloured jacket, a pair of purser's shoes or his master's old boots, and a straw hat, would strut about the settlement, admired by the belles and envied by the beaux, for a very variable period,—generally a few weeks, sometimes three or four months. At last, some fine morning, all that remained of this faithful domestic would be his finery. The novelty had worn off ; he had grown tired of civilised life, and had gone away to amuse himself after the manner of his countrymen. Again, when the novelty of travel had passed away, he would return to his master and resume his finery and former occupation for another season.

Such is the freedom of savage life. Each individual in the community is his own master : there is no king, no governor, no magistrate, no leader ; even the elders and the parents have no absolute authority over the younger people : the youngest child is impatient of control, and will resist with his spear any attempt at coercion or tyranny. Old people, however, are treated with becoming respect and consideration, and have some privileges and immunities. One of the greatest privileges of old men, and one of which they always avail themselves, is that of betrothing to themselves girls when very young, and

marrying them when they arrive at mature age. A man of fifty years of age becomes betrothed to a girl of seven or eight, and marries her when she is about eleven. The consequences are much the same as might be expected in any society : the young lady is besieged by less fortunate and more suitable admirers. On the other hand, the old gentleman has his eyes wide open, and jealousy keeps him constantly on the watch. Hence it not uncommonly happens that the youthful couple are surprised by the barbed point of an ugly spear, passing violently through some fleshy part of their sable frames. The wounds, however disagreeable, heal more rapidly than those inflicted by Cupid's darts : young people will be young people to the end of the chapter ;—they flirt on ; the old man, in his fits of jealousy, maims and sometimes kills, but is at length destroyed himself by the cares and anxieties of watching his juvenile spouse. Beauties are frequently carried off by force, often change lords and masters, and give rise to many quarrels,—in short, are much the same as in more civilised states.

The natives are tolerably long-lived ; but the average age is not so long as among more civilised people. They look older than they are. They never know their ages, having no means of counting ; in most matters they reckon by moons. The increase of population is kept down by various means : by infanticide—particularly of female children. What a revolting custom, to have prevailed in all ages, and to have been so widely spread ! It

is even pathetically alluded to in the Koran. "On the last day," says the passage, "the female infant that has been buried alive will demand—'For what crime was I sacrificed?' and the eternal books will be laid open."

"I saw their infant's spirit rise to heaven,
Caught from its birth up to the throne of God :
There, thousands and ten thousands I beheld
Of innocents like this, that died untimely
By violence of their unnatural kin,
Or by the mercy of that gracious Power
Who gave them being."

The practice of infanticide is more general in Australia than is commonly imagined. The unnatural check is further assisted by the use of violent means to nip the embryo bud ; and by diseases of children, which are various, brought on chiefly by neglect of cleanliness and by improper food. In other respects, children are very kindly treated by natives,—they are never beaten nor punished, how naughty soever they may be : when very troublesome, the mothers put them on the ground, and leave them for several hours. The children bear it most philosophically,—play with wild flowers until tired, then go to sleep. Children are often suckled by their mothers until three years old : those born deformed are generally destroyed ; idiots are never seen ; perhaps they are likewise so provided for. Polygamy is allowed. Wives are of much importance ; they perform all the labour, and collect food for the family while the men sleep. The men did not show any violent symptoms of jealousy of the white men : they were always willing that their wives

should make themselves generally useful to the Europeans for a consideration of pipes, tobacco, or grog. Occasionally a child would be born differing considerably in colour from its mother ; but these *lusus naturæ* were generally destroyed by the natives : only one was allowed to attain to any degree of maturity, and was so overfed by both Europeans and natives, that the removing of the settlement has most likely been the means of the child's escaping death by apoplexy.

One day a native, in a fit of jealousy, threw a bamboo spear at his wife, which passed through her neck. The spear was an inch in diameter. The jagged portion was cut off, and the handle withdrawn. Little bleeding took place ; but it was supposed that extensive inflammation and suppuration would be the consequence of so large a contused and lacerated wound. Such, however, was not the case. The accompanying fever was high, and placed the patient's life in jeopardy for a certain period. She was kept in the settlement some days, and had medical attendance. Native doctors came to see her occasionally, but did nothing to her, until one day, when she was very much better, one of them said with much seriousness that he could cure her. He commenced forthwith to rub her back-bone with his hand, and, like his more civilised brethren, to look wise. After having continued this powerful remedy for some minutes, he took his leave, assuring his beholders that he had cured her. In a few days she rejoined her friends in the bush, spreading the

fame of her sable doctor far and wide, to the no small mortification of the learned Æsculapius of the white men.

The natives bear pain remarkably well. Some of their spear-wounds are frightful. They willingly submit to the most painful operations without murmuring. They show the like indifference to suffering in raising scars on different parts of their bodies, for the purpose of adornment.

The natives are very fond of dancing and singing. The dances are performed by the young men. In their regular dances the women do not join ; but they can dance, and gracefully too, after their own fashion.

The bodies of the dancers are grotesquely, but very skilfully, painted with different coloured clays. They are wonderful mimics, and are fond of representing in their dances the habits of various animals,—the kangaroo, native companion, wild fowl, &c. Their movements are graceful and complicated,—sometimes indelicate : they afford good opportunities to the young men to display their figures and agility. When two or three tribes meet, dancing is carried on with great spirit. The music consists of a bamboo tube, about a yard long, through which a monotonous sound is transmitted by the performer's breath—the beating of one stick against another—the clapping of hands—also the beating of the open hand against the hollow parts of the limbs and body.

The natives are also fond of singing. Their songs, which consist of a few words often repeated, are generally obscene ; their conversation is almost always so. They prefer their own singing to ours : they think ours tame, and always do us the favour to laugh at our best efforts. Some of them admired our band, but I believe they preferred their bamboo flute.

CHAPTER XXI.

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NATIVE ENCAMPMENTS—DANCES—REVENGE—PUNISHMENT OF MURDER—ACCIDENTAL
 HOMICIDE—PERSONAL AND SOCIAL HABITS—WILD HONEY—KANGAROO HUNTING
 —WILD DOGS—THE EMU—WILD FOWL—HUNTING—A NIGHT IN THE JUNGLE—
 FLIES—GEESE—THE DUGONG—NATIVE COOKERY—FEUDS—DISPOSAL OF DEAD—
 FIRE SIGNALS—NATIVE GUIDES—ALLIGATORS—WHITE ANTS—ESSINGTON SETTLE-
 MENT—CAPE YORK.

A NATIVE ENCAMPMENT consists of a number of fires, with sheds made of the branches and bark of trees. Each family has its own fire and huts. Strangers, when present, have fires for themselves. It is not considered etiquette to approach a fire without an invitation from the master of it. It is a curious sight at night to see, in the midst of a wild forest, a whole tribe divided into groups thus disposed around so many fires. The glare reflected from the foliage, and from the dark faces of the people, has a strange and striking effect. The time is passed in a variety of ways,—chatting, singing, courting, dancing; some doing many of these together. Occasionally, some withered old hag will suddenly start up, and break forth

in a wild and loud recitative, referring to past scenes, or to some death which remains unavenged. Instantly all other occupations are laid aside, and the crone is listened to with a death-like silence. The audience become gradually excited as the narrative proceeds, and the old devil works herself into a frenzy, until at length the excitement in the camp has reached such a height that men scarcely know what they are about. It is not then safe for strangers to be present ; and woe betide the unhappy man belonging to any tribe from which an insult has been received and not avenged.

Shortly before the abandonment of the settlement of Port Essington, the natives were occupied as above described in their encampment within a few hundred yards of the garrison, when an old woman commenced her infernal chaunt about a murder committed long before by the tribe of a poor wretch present, and who had been living on the best terms with the Port Essington tribe for nearly three years previously. The usual effect was produced on the hearers. Directly the stranger saw what was coming, he started up and ran for his life, in the direction of the garrison ; before, however, he could reach that place of refuge, his frenzied pursuers had speared him to death. The poor fellow had never committed an offence against his murderers. The actors in this tragedy, far from being ashamed of their treachery and cowardice, boasted of it as a noble deed, and laughed at sympathy being shown for such a *monster*.

The feeling of revenge never dies in the breasts of these people till gratified. It must be vented on some person, no matter whether innocent or guilty. In spite however of these little outbreaks on the part of the old hags, and the known treachery of these people, individuals will frequently be found visiting strange tribes.

Wilful murder is punished by the death of the murderer or any one of his friends ; they are not over-nice in these matters. Accidental homicide is punished by spearing through the legs, thighs, arms, &c., according to circumstances. A native who does not avenge the death of his relative becomes an outcast ; the men mock him, and the women spurn and ridicule him.

These people are an odd mixture of cleanliness and filth : they frequently bathe ; after which I have seen them, on lying down to sleep, cover their bodies with dust and dirt, to keep the flies off. They resemble in their cleanly habits the cat and other animals.

The natives are very generous to each other ; they divide whatever they get,—articles of food or raiment. Give a native a piece of cloth, he tears it up and gives a portion to each of his friends ; give him rice, he shares it in the same way. There are, however, exceptions to every general rule ; and I regret to state that if a native gets anything very good and rare, such as a glass of grog, he does not take much trouble to seek his friends, but disposes of it very quietly to his own private comfort ;—but this is

contrary to good manners, and would be considered highly improper, if known.

The natives may be said to be omnivorous ; they devour all kinds of animals, and a great variety of roots and fruits. They do not use salt with their food. The quantity that a native can stow away is incredible.

You see a thin half-starved fellow, with his belly drawn to his back-bone, turn to at a bucket of rice ; leave him for a few minutes, and on your return you would scarcely recognise in him the individual you saw so shortly before : he is now bloated and dull ; his stomach is distended and hard ; his eyes refuse to remain open ; and while you are pitying the animal, he falls asleep like the reptile of his forest.

Wild honey is a favourite food. The bee which collects it is about the size of our ordinary house fly, and is not provided with a sting. The swarm is not so numerous as ours. They take up their abode in the hollow trees and branches, and collect enormous quantities of honey : it is said to be sweet and very wholesome. The natives discover these collections, either by watching the bees going into the hollow trees ; or tapping at trees, when the bees, if any are established there, issue forth ; or by listening to their hum. When they have discovered their prize the branch is cut off, or the tree opened with their axes. The combs are so slender that the honey soon issues from them in a thin fluid. They make a bucket of the bark of a tree, and break up the inner bark into a substance resembling

tow, with which they sponge up the honey ; they thus collect it all in the bucket. As they proceed on their journey, one of these sponges is handed round for each to have a suck as long as it contains any of the sweet plunder. The natives are not provident of food, nor of anything else ; they never look beyond the wants of the present moment ; they do not provide for the future like the little insects they so cruelly rob. If you give them provisions enough for two days, they will eat as much as they can the first, and allow the remainder to be wasted.

The Kangaroo is here a favourite article of food, but it requires trouble and labour to procure, and is therefore rarely seen. There are five varieties of these animals about Port Essington. The largest, which weighs about 100lbs, found in the hilly parts of the country, is not so fleet as the other species, but fights desperately. The smallest kind weighs between six and ten pounds, and is very fast. The animal most commonly met with varies from fifteen to thirty pounds in weight ; these are generally found near the thick jungle. For a short distance their run, or rather their jump, equals the speed of an ordinary greyhound ; but they cannot keep up the pace long. When kangaroos are closely pressed by dogs, in the vicinity of water, they make for it. If the water is shallow enough to allow them to stand, they support themselves on their hind legs and tail, and in this position show fight : they try to drown the dog by holding him under water, or rip his stomach open with the long sharp claw of their

hind foot. A well-trained dog seizes the Kangaroo between the thighs, at the root of the tail ; this mode of assault seems judicious for the dog's own safety, and it disables the tail, upon which member the animal is so dependent in running. The muscles of these parts were generally found lacerated in kangaroos killed by dogs. The kangaroo is naturally a gentle, timid, playful animal, and capable of attachment to those who are kind to it. In our eagerness for sport we were cruel enough to shoot several, and I regret to say some carrying their young. When these latter had been deprived, by the death of the mother, of the pouch in which they had been so comfortably lodged, it was curious to see the dexterous manner in which, if perchance you held the nose of one of them anywhere near your coat pocket, or the opening of your shirt, the little animal would disengage itself from your grasp, and, performing a somersct, throw itself coiled up into the bottom of this imaginary pouch.

It is very interesting to see a native kangarooing. All his energies, instinct, and cunning, are brought into play. When he comes to a place likely to contain game, he becomes watchful and excited, his eyes roll about, his ears appear to stand out, his body erect, and as steady as a statue. After a while he moves, his step noiseless and cautious. When he sees a kangaroo he becomes rivetted to the spot ; not a movement of either body or limb is discernible. The uninitiated observer at a short distance looks in vain for the cause of this attitude : after straining

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his eyes for some time he at length perceives the head of a kangaroo peeping over the long grass, in the direction of the native. The two animals watch each other for a variable period, until the kangaroo, which has persuaded itself that the motionless object before it is likewise lifeless, has gone down again on all fours, to dig a root or play with its young. The dark object then moves with measured pace towards his victim, which soon takes another peep to see if all is right. The native again assumes his fixed attitude : in this way he keeps advancing with most extraordinary care and patience, sometimes for nearly an hour, until within range of his game ; then the fatal spear is placed in the throw-stick, by a sort of magic, for no apparent motion accompanies the operation ; the weapon is poised—and sent with unerring aim, and fatal effect. The native or natives now, with hideous yells, pursue the wounded animal, which of course does all in its power to escape, but is soon obliged by pain or loss of blood to cease running : it then takes up a position with its back to a tree or rock, determined to defend itself or its progeny ; but a few well-directed spears from a short distance soon decide the contest. Poor kangaroo dies, is carried away in triumph, and is soon devoured.

Large hunting parties are often made by the natives to procure a supply of kangaroo. A place known to contain these animals is surrounded, the brush-wood set on fire, and the animals speared as they issue from it. This is

very exciting to the natives. They also watch for them at places where they come to get fresh water, and then spear them. But the most laborious way of taking the kangaroo is by tracking ; success by this method is considered highly honourable : it requires great perceptive instinct, and a knowledge of the jungle, besides the power of enduring fatigue, hunger and thirst. The pursuit of an animal in this manner lasts sometimes forty-eight hours, before it is taken. The native, when it gets dark, lights his fire, sleeps on the trail, and starts again at daylight in pursuit of his victim.

The wild dog is a great enemy to the kangaroo. This animal generally hunts alone, but they are sometimes met in packs, when their howling is very musical and plaintive, though apparently ominous and depressing to the spirits of our domestic dog, who, when his ear is thus greeted, seems to consider it the better part of valour to keep close to his master. The wild dog is of a light sandy colour, with a short strong brush similar to that of the fox, but smaller. He is very cunning and strong, and his bite is severe. The greatest animosity exists between the native and the domestic dog. They wage constant war, and avail themselves of any superiority of force to worry one another.

A hunting party with the garrison pack was in pursuit of one of these wild dogs, when they observed him rush into the water ; but, on arriving at the spot almost immediately afterwards, they were surprised to find no trace of him. Men and dogs stood wondering for some

time : at last a bubble made its appearance on the surface of the water ; and, on looking carefully at the spot, they saw the black tip of their friend's nose just visible on the surface. The attention of the dogs was directed to him : they dragged him forth and worried him, but could not kill him. He had, poor brute, cunningly placed his body under the root of a mangrove tree, to prevent its floating, and kept the end of his nose above water for the purpose of respiration. These dogs commit fearful ravages among the flocks in the cooler and more southern parts of Australia, and more than double the owners' expenses, from the number of shepherds required to keep watch against them. They are unknown in the more fortunate Van Diemen's Land, where there is a heavy fine on the importation of them. Sheep do not thrive in Northern Australia. The natives about Port Essington tame these dogs, when they catch them very young ; the women suckle them with their children.

Emus are frequently met with ; they afford good sport with the kangaroo dogs. It requires two strong dogs to kill one of these birds. They kick with great force both before and behind : for a short distance they can run very fast.

On the breaking up of the Raffles Bay settlement, some water buffaloes were left behind ; these have since increased considerably, and are very wild.

There are few parts of the world where wild fowl and game are so abundant as in the northern portion of

Australia. In addition to geese, and ducks (of which there is a great variety), pheasants, quail, jungle-fowl, and pigeons, the sportsman may vary his amusement by stalking the native companion (ibis), and on his way home may empty his gun into a pelican.

During our stay several shooting parties were made up. The best of the lagoons before mentioned are situated on the eastern side of the harbour : there is a succession of them, at various distances,—three, ten, or seventeen miles, from the place where we landed. The journey by land to some of them may be shortened ; but only by first making a circuit of some miles on the sea.

The jungle through which we rode was open below, and shaded overhead. We were attended by some natives, who joined us for the sake of what they were likely to get to eat ; they carried our ammunition, provender, and tents. We were likewise followed by some of the Marines composing the settlement,—I have seldom seen a finer-looking, or better-behaved set of young men than those who composed the garrison at Port Essington. Among these there were a few who, having a taste for the sort of life, had for years supplied the settlement with game, and who had become such experienced hunters as greatly to excel even the natives in sagacity, and in all that appertains to the mysteries of the jungle. These men alone were enough to make a bush-party agreeable. Highest in military rank was Sergeant Copp, a steady, untiring, keen sportsman. Corporals Rowe, Chalford, and

Jeffries, were all good shots, good-tempered, hard-working fellows, for whom the natives would do anything. It was wonderful to see the dexterity with which they would light a fire, and erect a bush hut. They were all good cooks; private Crayton super-excellent. He had been a London butcher, and was a sharp intelligent fellow. Let me mention, though last, certainly not least, a man named Hutchings; a huge fellow, rough and ready,—a very fag. He used to prefer going away alone, and never returned empty-handed; more generally hung round with game; fifteen or twenty geese; a whole flock of ducks; a native companion or two, as long as himself; two or three kangaroos, and a handkerchief full of small birds (specimens of natural history), the only part of him visible being his great red face, besmeared with perspiration and blood. He was a powerful and most daring fellow. On one occasion he found near the hospital a large alligator, floundering about in shallow water: he attacked him single-handed, caught him by the tail, and held on by main force until assistance came, when the brute was killed. I am afraid this fine fellow has bought his discharge from the Marines, and has gone to cut timber in New Zealand.

When I saw the iron frames, and comparatively healthy appearance of *these* men, their wonderful endurance of fatigue, and considered what they must occasionally have undergone, in exposure to the sun by day, and to the dews by night, I could not help thinking

that the sickness, which prevailed in the garrison, was as much owing to the want of mental and bodily exercise, as to any unhealthiness of climate.

At the time of our visit to these extensive swamps, they were, with the exception of occasional patches and a few holes, quite dry and covered over with a crust of hard clay sufficiently strong to bear our own weight, but not that of our horses : the latter were nearly fixed on more than one occasion.

It was late the first day when we arrived on our ground ; and we had only time to light fires, and pitch our tents on the banks of a stream of fresh water, when the sun went down.

Long before the break of day we heard,—first that peculiar noise occasioned by the wings of wild fowl passing rapidly through the air, not many yards above our heads ; then came the low, distant cackle of geese, and the strange noise of the whistling duck passing to and fro. I believe we were all alike in a nervous state of excitement. Daylight came at last ; but with it excitement of another kind. No one experiencing what we did, could ever forget the myriads of flies that appeared at the same time. Everything was black with them—the ground, the air, our food—they clung to our clothes, they stuck to our faces : to rid ourselves of them, we stripped, and rushed into the water, diving to get clear—but no ! they would hover about, and swarm on any part of our bodies that appeared above the surface. We were not entirely free for one

moment, until we left them and our sport together. Never before had I fully appreciated the misery of that particular plague of Egypt. By spreading a silk handkerchief over the head, and keeping it in its place with a light straw-hat, we succeeded in protecting our necks and faces from the thickest of them; and as there was just sufficient wind to keep the corners of the head-dress flapping about, we thus partially disappointed our tormentors. With the exception of this one drawback, better sport we could not have had. There was room for any number of guns. The geese have one peculiarity,—they perch upon trees; so that an unskilful sportsman may have, in his way, as much amusement as the man who brings down his geese right and left from a considerable height while on the wing.

In spite of the flies we remained several days in nearly the same locality, shifting our position occasionally. Those who disliked the flies, and preferred more violent exercise, found it in the pursuit of kangaroo, which, when obtained with some pains and labour, afforded very good soup. The geese and ducks, also, we found delicious eating.

The lagoons are excellent places for sport. They are between two and three hundred acres in extent, surrounded by forest trees, and with numerous little retiring coves about them in which we might conceal ourselves, and watch for the game; but, except as retreats from the sun, which was oppressively hot, these hiding places were

not necessary, as the geese were such geese that they did not understand the use of powder and shot ; and at the same time seemed to imagine that on the top of a tree they were safe. If after a while one particular set got more knowing, there were other lagoons with fresh geese at no great distance. The natives will kill almost every kind of bird with their spears and throwing-sticks. With water-fowl they are so expert that, by stealing close to them, or lying motionless for a length of time in one of the patches of water which these ducks and geese frequent, when the lagoons are dry, they catch them with their hands. On observing, while shooting, a spot that looked as if it had only just been quitted by some wild beast, and not feeling quite comfortable, I questioned the native who was with me as to what it meant ; he immediately imbedded his own body into the muddy hole ; and, had I not seen him go in, I certainly should have trodden on him. This is one of their ways of taking a dirty advantage of the game.

There is a great variety of excellent fish in the harbour of Port Essington. The natives procure abundance of them by spearing. Turtle abound along the coast, and are their favourite article of food, in which taste they are not peculiar. The eggs likewise they are very fond of ; but the creature for which they will go any distance is the dugong, a herbivorous animal of the order cetacea, about eight or nine feet in length, sometimes more, covered with a tough skin nearly an inch in

thickness, and under which is a layer of fat much prized by the natives, not only as an article of diet, but for the purpose of anointing their hair and bodies. The head is small in proportion to the body ; eyes and apertures for the ears small also ; tail broad and crescent-formed, and very large in proportion to the size of the animal. It has two large tusks ; the bones are dense and heavy. It is found in the Indian Seas generally, but abounds in the shallow waters on the northern coasts of Australia, where the natives spear it. The female produces one at a birth, and has a very strong affection for her young. When a young one is caught, the mother is sure to fall a victim, as she will not forsake her offspring. The Malays have a saying—"As affectionate as a dugong." The young are supposed to shed tears, and the Malay ladies think by collecting them to win the objects of their affections. I doubt, however, whether my North Australian friends are so romantic ; but if they do not value the tears, they certainly appreciate the flesh and fat ; for a blow-out of this dainty they will make more than a day's journey, and talk of it for a week afterwards.

Oysters are abundant ; those that grow on the trees are the best eating. It would be tedious to enumerate all the animals and vegetables that the natives use as food : indeed it would be difficult to say what they do not eat.

They are not generally very nice in their cooking. While out on our shooting excursion, I observed one fellow pulling the feathers off a goose : while so employed

his eye caught the tip-end of the tail of an iguana, an animal of the lizard kind, about four feet long, which was creeping up the opposite side of a tree ; he tossed the goose without further preparation on to the fire, and ascended the tree as easily as Jack would run up the well rattled rigging of a man-of-war. He almost immediately returned with the poor animal vainly struggling in his scientific grasp : it was the work of a minute to secure it to a stick of about the same length as itself to prevent its running away, when it was made to change places with the goose, which, being warm through, was considered to be sufficiently done. The whole goose he devoured, making no bones, but spitting out the feathers ; then came the iguana's turn, which, although less tender, was not the less relished. It appeared to require great muscular strength to detach the flesh from the skin. The operation being finished, he lay down to sleep. His wife, having sprinkled him with dirt to keep the flies off, was proceeding to eat the skin of the iguana, when the arrival of some more geese offered her a more satisfactory repast.

The trepang or sea-slug, is an article of commerce on the north coast ; it is found in almost all the sheltered harbours. The Macassar prahus come annually for it, and carry away considerable quantities for the China market.

It is during these trading visits that the Malays and natives have frequent quarrels. The Malay, who, in addition to his natural haughtiness, assumes the impor-

tance to which he imagines his religion (the Mahomedan) entitles him, looks down on the native of Australia as little better than a wild hog, and would thrust his kris into him with less ceremony, inasmuch as he could not touch the unclean beast without being defiled. The native, however, true to his own creed, has life for life; the Malay, being aware of this, endeavours to smother his hatred until just about to depart; but the native neither forgets nor forgives. It is immaterial to him who his victim is; so that it often happens on the arrival of a prahu, that before any commercial business is transacted the native has a score to wipe off of another sort. Interest and policy alone withhold for a while the kris and the spear:—a mutual hatred and distrust exist between them.

When a native dies, he is wrapped up in the bark of a tree, and bound round with cord. A stage is made, by placing two forked branches, eight or ten feet in height, upright in the ground, the forks uppermost, distant from each other about five or six feet, and facing the fork of a tree. A piece of wood is placed transversely, resting on the forks of the upright branches. A number of branches are then placed longitudinally, the ends resting in the fork of the tree and on the transverse piece. The whole slopes at a considerable angle, the uprights being shorter than the fork of the tree. This is done to prevent the lodgement of wet. Upon this inclined stage the body, wrapped in its coffin of bark, is laid; and there it remains. Sometimes there is no stage, and the body, rolled up in a

bundle, is laid upon, or suspended from, the branch of a tree. These places of deposit are avoided by the natives ; they think evil spirits haunt them. A native would not go near one at night by himself ; but when they are obliged to pass them, they carry a fire-stick to keep off the spirit of darkness.

A fond mother will often visit the place of burial of a favourite child, and bear away its bones or a part of them. She often carries them about with her for years ; the skull is the part most usually chosen.

The poor wretch whom they murdered near the settlement was interred in the earth, a very little way below the surface. This is the mode of burial, I believe, for enemies or great offenders.

The natives have never disturbed nor defaced the graves of the Europeans buried at Port Essington ; they seem to have a decent respect for the dead. Whether they have done so since the breaking up of the establishment remains to be ascertained ; but I should think that fear of the white man's spirit would be quite sufficient to deter them.

In Northern Australia the natives have a very elaborate code of signals, by which distant tribes and parties can communicate. By managing the fire, they cause the smoke to ascend in a particular way, significant of some interesting event. Sometimes the column is great, of large diameter ; sometimes it is spare and thin ; sometimes it is light-coloured, and sometimes dark ; and so on. The whole tribe have been known to disappear suddenly after

seeing a signal of this kind, and keep away for several days. The great event generally is the discovery of a good supply of food.

We did not find the natives particularly clever in the jungle. When out of the beaten path, and when once they lost their way, they showed more stupidity than one would have expected ; in fact, I would under such circumstances much rather trust to one of the before-mentioned Marines, than to any natives of the five tribes inhabiting the Cobourg peninsula.

The natives were very provoking at times in the capacity of guides. They will not bear to be hurried ; they will walk slow, repeatedly sit down, pretend to look for fresh water, and loiter away the time in an endless variety of ways. If, feeling hungry and tired, and knowing the direction, you take the lead yourself, your guide will sulkily follow, and allow you to go wrong, or to pass the place he knows you are anxious to arrive at : and when at last you inquire, " Where settlement ?" with a disdainful look he points towards the place from which you have been travelling the last two hours.—You were right at first in the direction but misjudged your distance. You say to " Darkey," " What for you do this ?" He replies, " What for you take guide in bush ?" Of course none but strangers are thus caught. The native canoes are made of the bark of trees : they are frail vessels, and easily upset ; but this is of little consequence, as men, women, and children are all expert swimmers. It is not an uncommon thing to see

a party of from twenty to thirty persons set out to swim across the bay, the little children holding on to the hair of the grown people. They do not seem to have any fear of sharks or alligators.

An alligator has been known at Port Essington to rush out of the water, and seize a dog from the midst of a party of men working on the beach. In all parts of the world where alligators are found, they have shown a taste for canine flesh.

I may here introduce an extract from my Journal while in the Pacific, as well as a few other personal recollections of the alligator :—

On July 3rd, 1851—Off the Chumatka River on the coast of Chili—we left the ship, a party of four guns, to shoot wild fowl. After some little trouble we succeeded in getting over the bar without accident, and with our ammunition dry.

The right bank near the mouth is formed by a narrow peninsula of sand, about a mile long, lying parallel with the sea-beach.

The first object that attracted our attention was a huge alligator basking on the bank of sand. We lost no time in drawing our duck-shot, and loading with ball. Our idea was to land some distance below, and walk up on the sea side of the bank until abreast of him, and then by creeping over the ridge to surprise the monster where he lay. This part of it we managed very well ; but, as he was not asleep, he gave us no time to aim at any

vulnerable part ; our bullets rattled against his back, as he glided off the bank into the river.

None of us however were prepared for the sight that awaited us from the top of this ridge of sand. Higher up, and about eighty yards distant, covering the bank for nearly as far up the river as we could see, were perhaps a thousand of these monsters. They had the appearance, from the confused mass in which they lay, of a forest of felled timber left by the tide at high water-mark, so motionless and unconcerned at our proximity did they appear. To fall back and re-load, in preparation for a regular battue, was the work of a minute. We passed up, as on the former occasion, as stealthily as a party of Camanchee Indians could have done, but keeping about thirty yards in advance of one another. When at a proper distance, we made our appearance on the top of the ridge at the same moment, and within a few yards of the enemy. A more exciting or extraordinary sight it would be difficult to imagine. Our surprise could only have been equalled by that of the alligators : had they really been logs of timber, suddenly raised some two feet from off the mud and put in motion, it would not have appeared to us more wonderful or grotesque than the sight we then beheld. They made a general rush for the river ; but as scarcely any two of them were in the same position, and none of them prepared to "cut their sticks" so suddenly, their confusion was complete : they are awkward at turning, and appeared to tumble over one another, and

several of the huge upper jaws of the larger ones were thrown back, as if to resent the unceremonious manner in which they had received a slap in the face by the unwieldy tail of a frightened neighbour. As might have been expected, our hurried discharge of bullets into the "thick of them" had no more effect than those fired on the first occasion. Once in the water, they recovered their self-possession, and appeared to consider themselves secure: they passed up and down the river, floating within a few yards of where we stood, showing nothing above water for us to aim at more than a long ridge of shot-proof knobs. I observed several of them land again very shortly afterwards, both above and below us; and it occurred to me that if I were to lie down and remain quietly ready, gun in hand, on the sand, one out of the immense number in the river might possibly select the spot I had chosen to take his siesta. I had not been many minutes in that position, when I observed, by the motion of the water, that an alligator was making for the beach, and would probably land within a couple of yards on my left: no cat ever watched with more anxiety: I saw the tip of his snout touch the sand, and then his long head and glassy eye, followed by his yellowish throat and disgusting-looking arms: my gun had been pointed for the very spot. I looked along the barrel until I observed the hollow which lies behind the jaw; the fatal ball then penetrated his brain-box; he turned into the water, but could not escape; a deep red line carried down by the

tide showed how much he bled. Assistance came, and with a rope round his hind leg he was hauled on shore. He was not one of the largest, measuring only thirteen feet in length. I have his head together with that of another, eleven feet long, which I killed in the same way a few minutes afterwards. From what I have observed at different times, I imagine that alligators, although quick at seeing, do not hear. The report of a musket, although fired within a few yards, never appeared to disturb them while they were floating on the water. If on the mud a shot struck the bank within a yard of them, they seldom moved unless they saw you approaching.

It is difficult to know what is the favourite food of these animals. In the stomach of one of those I killed up the Tampico River, on the eastern coast of Mexico, vegetables were found ; in another were the feathers of a duck. I have observed them lying with their mouths wide open basking in a hot sun ; I was informed by a native that they catch flies in that manner, waiting until the mouth is covered with these insects and then closing it suddenly. I could not find anything like a tongue in the mouths of those I killed. I recollect while blockading the river Mowar in the Malacca Straits, in 1833, observing the natives poking with sticks under water along the bank ; they were feeling for the body of an old woman, who had been carried off by an alligator while drawing water. When they found the body, I observed the breasts had been eaten off as clean as if the operation had been performed by a surgical

knife ; the natives informed me that that was the invariable custom of these animals, and then they stowed the body away until in a decomposed state, when they suck the flesh from the bones.

Captain Ferrier, the resident at Wellesley settlement, once informed me of a Malay lad having come to him, and reported that, while sitting in the fore end of a canoe in which he was paddling across a lake, his father steering from the other end, he suddenly felt a jerk, and on looking round saw his parent disappearing down the throat of an alligator. My friend immediately took his gun and went with the boy, but saw nothing of the alligator that evening : the next day, however, the monster was seen floating on the surface of the water. The Captain went in chase, and without much difficulty came up with and shot the brute. The gas generated by the decomposition of the body had so inflated the alligator, that he could not sink below the surface. When the stomach of the animal was opened the lad immediately recognised his father, not so much altered in appearance as might have been expected from the strange cruise he had taken : although the skull and bones were crushed, the flesh on the face was not broken. The head of this monster is now, or rather was at the time I heard of it (1842), in London, in the Museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

New comers in the jungle often pay dearly for seeking to gratify their curiosity, by prying too closely into the strange-looking abodes of the green ants. These insects

make a hollow cylinder of leaves, the interior of which is inhabited by thousands of them. Their bite is severe and poisonous ; but the most destructive little animal is the white ant, which in a very short time would have saved us the trouble of destroying the settlement. At the time it was given up the houses were almost uninhabitable ; some were tottering, some had already fallen, all were in a state of rapid decay through the agency of this destructive insect. They commence their operations from the ground by scooping out, in the most regular and systematic way, the interior of every post, stanchion, beam, or rafter. Should you imagine, after having given the upper part of your house a neat covering of green paint, and the lower part, what is still neater, a good dressing of coal tar, that, because your paint and your tar remain perfect, you have for one moment delayed the operations of those industrious little artificers, you are very much mistaken. The work of destruction is proceeding within, with a rapidity that is perfectly astonishing ; and when some fine morning, your very neat-looking mansion comes down by the run, you discover that what remains of the once solid material, of which your domicile was built, has now all the lightness of the graceful and hollow bamboo without its stability. Sir William Burnett's solution of chloride of zinc *properly applied* is, I believe, the only composition yet known that will preserve anything from these all-devouring insects. We, (the *Mæander's*), had only remained long enough at Port Essington to be amused and interested

with everything we saw. We had enjoyed our excursions into the country, and the fact of my having the control over a quantity of damaged bread had made the natives very obliging. We had corobories and dances so often, that frequently afterwards the kangaroo dance was as well performed on the main-deck of the *Mæander*, many thousand miles from the place where it originated, as we had seen it on the spot.

We destroyed, according to orders, what still remained of the settlement. The buildings could have been of no service to the natives, and would have probably been the cause of bloodshed between them and the other tribes. I said one day to my friend "Bob", the intelligent savage, "Do you intend to take possession of the Governor's house after we are gone"? To which he replied with an air of indifference, "I suppose I must." I heard afterwards that it was the opinion of many in the tribe that "Bob" had grown so conceited that they would be under the necessity of putting a spear through his body, which they would probably do to the chaunt of some old hag.

We had another reason for not leaving the houses in anything like a habitable state: had they looked too comfortable, there would have been inducement to other parties to try their hands at a settlement on the same spot,—an object that was not considered desirable by the Government. I am afraid however that enough was left in the way of old iron, hoops, &c. to excite the cupidity of the Malayan traders, and to cause much quarrelling.

There is no doubt that there should be some port or refuge for disabled ships or wrecked crews on that coast ; and, as soon as the corrected charts of the surveys of that zealous and indefatigable officer, the late Captain Owen Stanley, shall have been published, the channel by the Torres Straits will be oftener frequented.

From the information I could collect, no point appears to be better adapted for the purposes required, either as a harbour of refuge or for the formation of a depôt for coals, than Cape York. The spot itself is not only eligible, but it is the most convenient for the native trade with the Louisiana group, which again is the connecting link with New Guinea and the whole Indian Archipelago : it is moreover directly in the line, in case of steam communication that way with Sydney ; and it is close to the barriers and dangers where most of the wrecks have as yet occurred.

Since writing the above I have been favoured with the late Captain Owen Stanley's private journal, in which, after expressing his hopes that Port Essington might be abandoned, he writes, "But I do hope to see an establishment formed at Cape York or at Port Albany, which has all the advantages Port Essington wants, and is not more than a mile out of the way of a vessel going from Sydney to India." We left behind at Port Essington a number of cattle ; there were already many quite wild in the bush, that had escaped from the settlement at an earlier period : these will rapidly increase and multiply.

Several horses were likewise left. In our excursions I frequently noticed the foot-prints not only of horses that had been running wild for several years, but of young foals with them. Two fine kangaroo dogs appeared to be more valued than anything else by the natives.

The garrison marching down to embark, with the band at their head, did not excite sufficient interest to draw the natives (I must except a few of the softer sex) from their search for what they could find, among the ruins of the buildings.

After a lapse of years it will be an interesting spot to any of the early settlers that may chance to visit it, although the bush will soon spring up where the buildings stood : the cocoa-nut and fruit-trees will grow higher still ; the pine-apple, too, if in a soil that it likes, asserts its own, and will grow and spread in spite of all obstacles : in the Island of Penang it is considered a most troublesome weed to eradicate.

During our stay at Port Essington we lost our surgeon, Mr. John Clarke,—a man who by his kind and gentle manner and his amiable disposition had endeared himself to us all. His remains rest in the bush, in a shaded picturesque spot ; where also are deposited those of an amiable lady, the wife of one of the officers, with her two children. Poor Clarke contracted a disease at Hong Kong from which he never perfectly recovered.

CHAPTER XXII.

DEPARTURE FROM PORT ESSINGTON—BANDA ISLANDS—SPICE ISLANDS—ONRAM—DUTCH
POLICY—BARTER WITH NATIVES—NEW GUINEA—ITS COMMERCIAL ATTRACTIONS
—ADMIRALTY ISLANDS—NEW IRELAND—PORT CARTARNEY—NEW BRITAIN—
SYDNEY.

WE left Port Essington for Sydney on the 1st December, 1849. Not being in possession of the late surveys of Torres Straits, we decided on taking the route by the Amboyna Sea, and Pitt's Straits, round the north side of New Guinea, and so to the southward, through the passage known as St. George's Channel, and to the eastward of the Barriers. As the season for the westerly winds had set in, we preferred this course to that by the western and southern coasts of Australia.

It was also necessary for us to proceed somewhere in quest of water; by reason of the continued droughts, we did not succeed in obtaining more at Port Essington than was sufficient for our daily consumption.

Proceeding to the northward, and again crossing the chain of islands between the Serwatty and Tenimber

groups, we were brought by a few days' pleasant sailing to the Banda Islands.

These, and the adjoining group of Amboyna, are the principal of the Dutch Spice Islands, and are of no great size.

The principal islands of the Banda group are three in number ; Banda-Neura,—on which the town is built,—and Gunong Api, a volcanic island close to, and in a line with it : they have a narrow but deep channel between them. Opposite, and to the southward of these two, in a semicircular form, is the larger Island of Banda, having a rather narrow passage at either end. The space thus enclosed forms the very charming harbour of Banda.

We were becalmed in the western entrance ; and, while the current swept us up mid-channel to the anchorage, we furled sails, and hoisted our boom-boats out ; and when we came to, close off the capital, we were in proper harbour costume.

The view of the islands from the ship would form a very beautiful panorama. The picturesque town, which is built on a flat, ought, from the appearance of Fort Belgica above and in the rear of it, to be well protected.

Gunong Api, a striking feature in the scene, is high and conical in shape. Smoke issued from the top, but an eruption had not taken place for many years. From the crater downwards one-third of the distance it appeared a mass of cinders ; from that point vegetation commences,

increasing towards its base, where stand many cottages and fishing-huts.

The opposite and more mountainous island surpasses the other two in beauty of appearance. The luxuriant growth of the forest and nutmeg trees, unobstructed by underwood, seemed to invite refreshment under their shade. Little rivulets of cool and delicious water run down from the highland to the harbour: from these we watered the ship. The woods abound in an endless variety of beautiful birds, especially of the pigeon sort. Deer are to be obtained with a little trouble.

Some of the merchants and most of the proprietors of the nutmeg plantations have houses on this side.

Nothing could exceed the kindness and consideration we received from every class of residents on these hospitable islands. There was nothing that the island produced, which could be considered a novelty to us, that we were not presented with. It would be difficult to describe the endless variety as well as beauty of the parrots and lowries that were sent on board; also the magnificent crown pigeon of Papua, nearly as large as a turkey: we had as many as eighteen at one time, three pairs of which were twenty months on board; and some of them are now in the gardens of the Zoological Society.

One very pretty compliment was paid to us, which I must not omit to record. A ball was given by the Governor in honour of our visit; and in the course of the evening, shortly before midnight, the dance suddenly

stopped, glasses were put into our hands, champagne flowed into them, and the health of Queen Victoria was proposed by His Excellency in an appropriate speech. We swallowed our wine as the clock struck twelve, the band playing our National Anthem, while a royal salute was firing over our heads from the Fort, during which we were expected to be continually emptying and refilling our glasses.

The following evening we were invited to a dance given on the opposite shore. Our boats were in requisition; and as they passed under the stern of the frigate at eight o'clock, we took advantage of that opportunity to return the compliment by saluting the Netherlands' flag, which we hoisted at the mast-head, and lighted up by port-fires at the yard-arms, giving His Excellency and family three British cheers.

Leaving Banda, *en route* to Pitt's Straits, we touched at the Ceram Islands, and, under the pilotage of Mr. James McArthur, came to, in certainly not the most secure-looking anchorage, under Ceram Laut.

The Island of Ceram is the second in size of the Moluccas, having an estimated area of about 10,000 square miles. Owing to the jealousy of my friends the Dutch, it is but imperfectly known. Their object, until of late years, has been the extirpation of the clove and nutmeg trees, so as to confine the monopoly to the islands on which they have established Governments, and thus keep up exorbitant prices for the small quantities

exported. They have yet to learn the advantages to be derived from free trade.

The mountains are from six to eight thousand feet in height, sending down innumerable streams to the sea. The vegetation is everywhere luxuriant, and the trees gigantic. I have now in my possession a circular slab of wood from the island, three and a half inches thick, eight and a half feet in diameter. The sago palm in particular is more abundant and productive than on any of the adjoining islands. Cloves and nutmegs grow wild.

The Malays have several settlements along the coast, and lend themselves usefully to the policy of the Dutch in carrying out their protective system ; we have only their prejudiced statements for supposing the aborigines of the interior to be the most bloodthirsty cannibals in the Indian Archipelago.

The Malays themselves, however, are cunning and enterprising traffickers, and carry on a great trade with the Chinese in *Bêche-de-mer*. They hoist the Dutch flag ; and while one end of the island claims the protection of Banda, the other has that of Amboyna. Our conchologists added considerably to their collections here. We did not remain long at Ceram.

There is always more excitement in navigating imperfectly-known seas, than in passing over the more frequented tracks ; and on the present occasion our charts were of little use. By anchoring in the evenings, and by keeping a good look out from aloft, and leads

constantly over the side, we were enabled to thread our way through strange places.

At noon on 21st December, we entered Pitt's Straits,—a narrow channel about forty-five miles in length, separating Batanta from Salawatty : these are two small islands, off the north-west coast of Papua or New Guinea.

We had been for some days past working up against a strong breeze with a proportionate sea. The sudden change into perfectly smooth water was very enjoyable. The sea was deep blue, as was the serene sky overhead : instead of looking out to windward for squalls with rain, we now gazed pleasantly on a luxuriant jungle which mounted on either side far above our mast-head. Beautiful birds in endless variety added life and interest to the scene ; nor did it decrease as we proceeded. As is usual in narrow channels, and under high land, we had the winds baffling,—coming off on either side in strong and sudden puffs, sometimes striking the ship aloft, without giving us the usual notice of such a visit by so much as a ripple on the surface of the water. The channel, too, was just sufficiently tortuous to prevent our seeing any distance before us ; so that, as each point was rounded, some pleasing variation would present itself in the already beautiful scenery, such as one can never be tired of looking at. Occasionally canoes came off, as the tide swept us along. The jungle was too dense for us to make out any habitations, but their locality was indicated by the appearance of that most useful of all trees, the

cocoa-nut, as well as by a break in the otherwise rock-bound coast, a patch of white sandy beach, on which there was not sufficient ripple to prevent the smallest boat from landing. Either fear or laziness prevented the natives from coming alongside in any numbers. I obtained two fine specimens of the black bird-of-Paradise, in exchange for an old musket. The rest of their cargoes were composed of fruits, bows and arrows, parrots, shells, spears, and tortoise-shell. The natives are well-proportioned, but ugly-looking savages, with a profusion of hair frizzed out in an extraordinary manner, which I have no doubt they thought very handsome, but which only impressed us with the idea of a dense harbour for filth and vermin.

As there is no anchorage, it is desirable that a ship should get through Pitt's Straits in one tide; which feat we just succeeded in accomplishing by sunset. On emerging from the straits, we found the wind still blowing fresh from the westward, with a following swell, and a strong easterly set; but, as our course now lay in that direction, before the following morning we were many miles on our voyage, and thereby missed seeing a large portion of the northern coast of New Guinea, a country about which there appears to be more interesting mystery than any we had visited.

The interior of this magnificent island, 900 miles in length, is less known even than Ceram, or any of the Indian Archipelago; and yet it is supposed not only to

abound in minerals, but to possess a fertility of soil, and— from its tiers of hills rising into distant mountains—a variety of climate capable of producing every fruit or vegetable that grows within the tropics.

For the naturalist I believe that no country in the world is equally rich in beautiful rare birds and beasts.

The little we saw of the natives confirmed what we had heard,—that they are a finer race than any of the islanders : nor do I believe that their ferocity and cannibalism is carried to the extent reported. A few communities along the coast may, from former ill-treatment by the more civilised pale-faced man, have become suspicious and treacherous ; but I would fain hope that a country, on which Nature appears to have been so bountiful, is not marred in its principal feature, by possessing a race of inhabitants such as they have been described.

The country of New Guinea offers an inviting and unbounded field to the philanthropist. The well-directed operations of a few high-minded capitalists—nay, of one individual of exactly the right stamp—might open such a market for European productions as would soon return any preliminary outlay “tenfold into their bosoms.” New Guinea invites and calls for a just Government, and a system of protection to the oppressed, as once did Sarāwak. There are similar materials to work upon : but not every day are individuals to be found willing to

sacrifice health and fortune for the benefit of strangers and succeeding generations.

We did not notice any canoes off the New Guinea coast. This may be accounted for by its open and exposed position. On the southern side, which is protected by a coral reef, the natives appear to live as much on the water as in their jungle. The smoke rising in various directions on the higher ground was proof to us that the population extended considerably into the interior.

On the 23rd December we passed between the Islands of Mysore and Jobie, both mountainous.

24th.—We passed Point D'Urville. It had been our intention to visit Humboldt Bay, as laid down in the chart, that we might see something more of that country and its people; but to our disappointment the strong current carried us past it in the night.

As the New Guinea coast now declined to the south-east, we stood on for the Admiralty Islands.

On the 29th we made Purdy's Islets, which, by our reckoning, were twenty miles further to the eastward than is laid down in the chart supplied by the Admiralty. They are small low islands, covered with trees; and the Bat, which appears as two islands, has shoal-water and reefs round it. The shoal marked "Breakers" in the chart does not exist in the position there given; nor do I believe it to exist at all. The Mouse and Mole do not appear to have any dangers near them. The smaller

of the two Bats is covered with cocoa-nut or palm-trees.

30th.—We observed a succession of islands ; and steered for one that appeared the easternmost of the Admiralty group. On nearing the land just after midnight, and obtaining no soundings with the deep sea lead, we sent boats ahead to sound ; this being observed by the natives, whom we supposed to be fishing, no small consternation among them was the consequence, as they made known to us by a proportionate yelling.

The wind having died away, the tide carried us into about fifty fathoms' depth of water, where we held on with the kedge-anchor, until daylight should appear.

If our boats had created a sensation among the savages, great indeed was their surprise at the appearance of the ship. The noise produced by blowing into a shell of the Triton species was everywhere heard ; and having, I doubt not, buried or otherwise concealed a vast quantity of rubbish, they disappeared themselves ; so that shortly after daylight there was not the vestige of a habitation nor a human being, besides ourselves, to be seen.

It was curious to watch, when they found that we took no steps to draw them out, how carefully and cautiously the savages came from their hiding-places. One emerged from the bush, naked as he was born : we thought, at first, that this was his way of proving to us how little we might expect to get from him ; but they were all in the same

undress uniform. Then another would come forth, spear in hand ; soon after, the snout of a small canoe was seen to protrude from under the bush. It would be tedious to enumerate the cunning and cautious "dodges," the number of times they retreated and again hid themselves, on the slightest movement on our parts, before any of them ventured to approach ; before 10 o'clock, however, the water, for a cable's length round the ship, was covered with grotesque canoes, and still more odd-looking natives.

A general barter soon commenced, accompanied by a noise and screeching that was deafening ; and reciprocal confidence was soon established. The natives are fine-looking men, of a dark olive colour, with long black hair, which they confine in a lump, at the back of their head, by a small hoop or band. There was one old lady with grey hair, seated under a canopy in her canoe, who was paddled round the ship several times, and appeared much interested in what was going on ; but she did not venture very near. We did not find out who she was. Several dialects were attempted between us, but none succeeded. Their canoes were of various sizes ; a few must have measured seventy or eighty feet in length, carrying about twenty men each.

On the morning of the 4th we passed to the northward of Sandwich Island, which is low and undulating : we found it thirty-five miles E.S.E. of the position it has on the chart ; and the coast of New Ireland proportionably out. We then ran along the land to the southward,—the

weather fine and the water smooth. The land of New Ireland appears to have one high long ridge, intersected by gullies and ravines, and covered with a dense jungle, which renders the scenery very beautiful.

We were visited along the whole length of the coast by a constant succession of canoes, with natives very similar to those of the Feejee Islands. Although they came alongside, none of them could be induced to come on board. They had a vast quantity of hair, frizzed out, and coloured white, black, or red.

A man, having his hair carefully divided down the middle, would present one side covered with a jet black mixture, while the other half would be of a bright red or perhaps white. The men, five or six in number, belonging to the same canoe, were generally coloured uniformly. Suppose a canoe with a black crew to have paddled up to one side of the ship ; presently, while your attention was occupied elsewhere, they would shift round to the other side ; but lo ! now the crew was white. It is not easy to believe that black is white ; yet here it was so : one and the same crew were black on the port and white on the starboard side. Others with their hair cut short, and covered over with some dirty thick gluey substance, would paint a white ring round the head just above the eyes and ears, with a line under the chin. It was difficult to believe that the head was not confined in a close-fitting skull-cap.

The symmetry of their shape was in no way hidden by

clothes, as paint was the only covering they condescended to wear.

One and all were clamorous for barter :—empty bottles, buttons, and bits of iron hoop, were most in demand. Clothes, or the materials for making them, were treated with great contempt. Their canoes were carved out of one tree, and generally from thirty to fifty feet in length : they have outriggers, to give them stability, which were very inconvenient for coming alongside.

We were puzzled at one time to make out the use of a curiously formed piece of wood, about four feet long, and in shape very like a whale boat, but solid : from a hole in the centre descended a strong cord of twisted rattan, forming a running noose, like a hangman's knot. The mystery was solved shortly after. As I was leaning out of the cabin windows, when there was just sufficient wind to give the ship steerage-way, I observed a shark swimming leisurely along some twenty fathoms below the surface. The natives from their canoes observed the monster about the same time. In a few minutes several of these oddly shaped buoys were dropped into the water. Some of our people fancy they saw them sprinkle a powder in a sort of magic circle round the buoys ; I did not observe them use any bait : what charm they used, if any, we did not ascertain ; but certain it is that the shark shortly after rose, and was fool enough to shove his head into the fatal noose, when he was as completely hanged in his own element as ever rogue was from the gallows tree.

The buoyancy of the float prevented his diving with it. Having flourished his tail about for twenty minutes, he was drawn up by his head on a level with the water, and there belaboured with the heavy end of their paddles until he seemed satisfied that further resistance was useless ; they then tumbled him bodily into the canoe, and hurried on shore amidst the yelling of the whole flotilla, where no doubt he underwent the further process of dissection.

On the 5th we diverged a little from the coast for Duke of York's Island, intending to water in Port Hunter ; but not finding it on the north side in the position described, the following day, after some little difficulty in threading our way between shoal patches and rocks, we anchored in the centre of some small islands which appeared to form a good harbour ; but we did not succeed in finding the watering-place.

These islands seem to be thickly populated. The natives are of a darker cast, and of a more savage expression than those we had lately seen. Several of them bore fresh scars, an attack having lately been made on them by some warlike tribe from the adjoining coast of New Guinea. Their canoes were much the same in appearance as those of the New Ireländers, except that a rough attempt was made to ornament the stem and stern with a representation of some nondescript bird or reptile.

We discovered afterwards that Port Hunter was

more on the north-east side of Duke of York's Island.

On the 8th we again crossed over to the New Ireland coast, and then stood to the southward, between that and New Britain, the scenery of which was of surpassing beauty. There were extensive green slopes, which, from a distance, appeared to have been cleared by cultivation : but we ascertained that such was not the case.

We now looked out for a harbour near the southern end of New Ireland,—discovered by and named after a Captain Carteret,—where fresh water was to be obtained : it is a place occasionally visited by English and American whalers,—as was proved by a salutation which met our ears, while we were standing in for the shore. “ What ship that ? ” shouted a black savage, one of a party in a canoe ; “ Tobac got ! ”—“ God dam ! ”—“ Rum got ! ”—“ Give rope ! ”—while delivering himself of these lessons in English and American, and without waiting for an invitation, he sprang into the main chains, and thence on the quarter-deck.

The manners of these savages were not at all improved by their intercourse with more civilised nations.

Port Carteret is formed by a bight in the land, protected by a small island called Coco : in fact it is nothing more than a channel between the island and the mainland of New Ireland, and so deep is the water that it hardly deserves to be called a harbour. We anchored in forty fathoms,—the best berth we could find,—close to

the north-east end of Coco. We were sheltered from any swell of the sea ; but we had not, in case of a breeze much room to veer in.

Fruit, yams, and pigs are to be obtained by barter, but no poultry ; nor did we see any after leaving Ceram, where no Malay is seen without a cock under his arm. The water, where we anchored, was so beautifully clear, that in forty fathoms deep the coral, shells, and seaweed growing on the bottom could be distinctly seen, and give it all the appearance of a beautiful submarine garden.

The creek up which we found the fresh water is on the New Ireland side, in the N.N.E. angle. It seemed formed by nature for a dock. Although there is not room to swing, there is great depth of water, and numerous large trees to which a ship of any size may be secured, head and stern.

While the ship was watering, we formed a party, and, under guidance of a savage who spoke and understood a little English, started off to visit one of their villages.

Having pulled along the beach to the northward for a short distance, outside the harbour, we landed opposite some fishing huts ; and, striking into the forest, followed a jungle path for about a mile ; this brought us to a collection of perhaps 200 huts ; they scarcely however deserved that name, each dwelling being nothing more than a circular hole, three feet deep, over which a thatch was thrown, and into which we were obliged to creep on all fours. The women were certainly not shy ; both sexes

were "dressed" alike in a small apron made from the bark of a tree. Furniture they had none ; and little to tempt us to prolong our visit ; while myriads of ravenous mosquitos made the usual attack on the pale skins.

Not seeing any gardens, and knowing the natives to have supplied the ship well with vegetables, we made them to understand our curiosity on the subject : they explained that their cultivated ground was further off, and offered to show us the way. They led us by a pleasant walk through the jungle ; we met on our way several detached parties of men, women, and children, carrying on their heads to the village the daily supply of vegetables, consisting of tapa, yams, cassava root, and plantains. Half an hour brought us to the banks of a broad and rapid stream, tumbling and roaring over rocks and large stones. The water through which we had to wade was about three feet deep. On the opposite side were the gardens. We were astonished, not only at the neatness and pretty appearance of the ground, but at the order that prevailed where no one appeared to rule. Each section of the village seemed to have its allotted portion. Parties arrived, cut, and carried their vegetables away in perfect quiet. Our party roamed about in twos and threes, while the savages were in tens and twenties ; this however was scarcely prudent, as they might, had they been in the humour, have easily disposed of the white men. All accounts describe the natives about Carteret harbour as not only grasping and avaricious, but treacherous and cunning cannibals. One man, who

spoke a little English, denied to me that they ever ate men : he, however, admitted that, when they killed an enemy, they occasionally eat the palm of his hand, or some such dainty bit. We got away from these dreadful characters without having been molested in any way,—although on the afternoon previous to our visit to the village, one of the officers had found it necessary to protect himself from robbery in a summary manner. He had been shooting, but had discharged his gun just before getting into a canoe with two natives, who offered to convey him on board. An attempt was made by them to take forcible possession of his watch ; but, being a very powerful young man, he threw one of the savages into the water ; and, standing over the other, prepared to break his head with the butt end of his gun, compelled him to paddle along-side.

On the whole, we were much pleased with this-our first opportunity of seeing something of the domestic habits of these strange people.

Judging from recent sketches, taken during the visit of the *Rattlesnake* surveying-vessel, of the dwellings and natives on the south coast of New Guinea, I should think that their habits and customs are much the same as those of the people to whom we paid this visit. I have since been confirmed in this opinion by the perusal of Captain Owen Stanley's private journals. "In passing Rossell Island," he writes, "in shore we could see their habitations

beautifully situated under groves of cocoa-nut trees, with well-laid-out gardens around them, in which the plants were placed with as much regularity as any farmer in England would sow a crop of corn!"

Early on the morning of the 12th January we sent a division of boats to examine Wallis's harbour.

We got under-weigh in the afternoon, and late that evening picked the boats up. They reported Wallis's harbour as less safe than Carteret, and unfit for a large ship.

13th.—At sunset we passed Cape St. George, the southern point of New Ireland, and once more found ourselves in the open sea.

17th.—We passed the Laughlan Islands.

On the 20th we communicated with some natives on Rossell Island; but all the land in these parts is both misnamed and misplaced in the charts with which we were supplied. I have since found by reference to the excellent survey by Captain Owen Stanley, which will shortly be published by the Admiralty, that what we took for Rossell must have been the small Island of Adèle.

On the 5th February we again made the Australian coast, and on the 7th arrived at Port Jackson, Sydney.

The effect on entering this harbour is very beautiful: but just at this time it was much spoiled by a bush fire, which had overrun the country, destroying a great deal

of property ; and so rapid had been the spread of the conflagration, that even some lives had been lost. We found the *Rattlesnake* surveying-ship, commanded by my friend Captain Owen Stanley, who had just returned from an arduous and interesting survey of Torres Straits.

CHAPTER XXIII.

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PORT JACKSON—DRY DOCK ON COCKATOO ISLAND—VISIT THE INTERIOR WITH SIR CHARLES FITZROY—DEATH OF CAPTAIN OWEN STANLEY—SHORT MEMOIR OF HIS SERVICES—EXTRACTS FROM HIS PRIVATE JOURNAL—HIS FUNERAL.

I HAD long wished for an opportunity of visiting this fifth continent, Australia; nor were the high anticipations I had formed of this fine colony at all disappointed, as we sailed into the splendid harbour of Port Jackson. The entrance to it would not be easily discovered from the sea, were it not for a very fine lighthouse, which, however, appears to me to be placed on the wrong headland; and I can understand how it was that Captain Cook, in the first instance, overlooked it on his way to Botany Bay. I believe the opening between the headlands was first discovered by a seaman named Jackson, who observed it from the mast-head of a ship, in which he was passing to Botany Bay.

There is a splendid dock forming on Cockatoo Island, under the able superintendence of Mr. Mann, the advantages of which will be incalculable.

The following are the dimensions on which it was constructing when I was there in 1850 :—

Length.—Level of top altar from inside of pier	266 feet.
Ditto ditto keel floor	226 „
Breadth.—Interior level of top altar	76 „
Ditto of floor	34 „
Ditto at entrance H. W. level	57 ft. 3 in.
Ditto ditto top of piers	58 feet.
Height of pier over H. W. level	2 „
Water over Caisson sill	20 „

The rise and fall of tide may be stated at five feet, and the datum for the foregoing depth will be determined from H. W. mark spring-tides.

In the Governor, Sir Charles Fitzroy, I found a friend of many years' standing, and I cannot say how much I enjoyed my sojourn with him. His children I had known when they were of the same age as the grand-children who now enliven Government House : but however agreeable it may be to myself to dwell on this subject, it cannot be very interesting to my readers.

Sir Charles, who was going to make a short tour into the interior of the colony, not only kindly took me with him, but mounted me from his own first-rate stable ; and as His Excellency rode some six stone more than I could boast of, I never knew what it was, throughout the journey, to ride a tired horse ; fortunately also I had not left my leathers at home, so that there was no drawback to my enjoyment. While we travelled on horseback, a light van

conveyed our luggage, certainly the most agreeable mode of seeing any country.

As I can add nothing new to that which has been so lately described, in an interesting work by Colonel Mundy, I shall not attempt it here : it is sufficient to state that I partook of the hospitality and came in for a share of the sincere and hearty welcome, with which Sir Charles was everywhere so deservedly received.

It was while we were absent on this tour, and a little more than a fortnight after our first arrival at Port Jackson, that the naval service sustained a severe loss by the death of Captain Owen Stanley, of Her Majesty's surveying-vessel *Rattlesnake*. We had been many years acquainted ; and I cannot help availing myself of this opportunity of expressing my deep regret, and my sympathy with the many to whom he was so justly dear.

He was of modest and retiring habits ; and whatever his intentions may have been, I am not aware that he ever published any portion of the interesting private journal, which he regularly kept during the time he was employed on his various surveys.

At the anniversary meeting on the 26th of May, 1851, of the Royal Geographical Society of London, during an address delivered by Captain W. H. Smyth, R.N., after alluding to the deaths of several distinguished members of their Society, that officer thus proceeds :—

“ But geographically speaking, the greatest loss suffered by the society in the past year is that of Captain Owen

Stanley, son of the Bishop, in the thirty-ninth year of his age. After passing through the Royal Naval College, this officer embarked on board the *Druid*, frigate ; and, having served his noviciate in several ships, was appointed to the *Adventure*, Captain P. P. King, at Valparaiso, to assist in the exploration of the Straits of Magellan. This was his first initiation as a nautical surveyor ; and, in consequence of being placed under the tuition of some of my former officers, he was wont good-humouredly to claim scientific relationship with myself. Having been promoted to the rank of Lieutenant, he was appointed to assist his friend, the present Captain Graves, in the Mediterranean, where he examined the Gulf of Lepanto, in a small boat, which he afterwards hauled over the Isthmus of Corinth, and rejoined his ship at Vourlah, after an absence of eighty-four days. In 1836 he was appointed to the *Terror*, Captain Sir George Back, on her expedition to the Polar Regions, in search of Sir John Ross ; and on this perilous voyage, he had charge of the astronomical and magnetic operations. He was afterwards appointed to the command of the *Britomart*, in which vessel he aided in forming the colony of Port Essington, and made a track survey of the Arafura Sea, with other work. He became a Captain in September, 1844, and in 1846 was appointed to the *Rattlesnake*, a small frigate expressly fitted for carrying on a survey in the Indian and Australian Seas.

“ Captain Stanley’s hydrographical labours in this

ship may be thus summed up :—A survey of Simon's Bay, Cape of Good Hope, on a large scale ; plans of Twofold and Botany Bays on the east coast of Australia ; a plan of the entrance of Port Jackson, to show how far that harbour is available for the largest class of ships-of-war ; a plan of Port Curtis and the entrance to Moreton Bay ; and eleven sheets of the north-east coast of Australia, from Rockingham Bay to Lewis Island, marking the inner route between the Barrier reefs and the main land.

“ He also re-examined eight channels through Torres Straits, five of which were previously unknown.

“ Captain Stanley in this charge, as in every task he undertook, devoted his whole time and energy to the fulfilment of the duties entrusted to him by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty ; and he was fond of scientific pursuits generally, beyond the usual acquirements of an ordinary nautical surveyor,—a class of which he proved himself, by his works, so able and distinguished an example. His health had been declining under the fatigues and anxieties attendant upon the arduous labour of surveying in inter-tropical climates, among coral reefs, strange currents, and many physical and moral evils ; and he had complained of illness on his passage from the Louisiade Islands to Port Jackson. At Cape York he first heard of the death of his brother, Captain Charles E. Stanley, of the Royal Engineers ; and, on his arrival in Sydney, he was informed of the decease of his father, the tidings of which were conveyed by his former Com-

mander, Captain P. P. King. These bereavements preyed upon his mind, and, acting upon a system already much debilitated, had a fatal termination, and brought his valuable life to a sudden close on the 13th of March, 1850."

In another part of Captain Smyth's address, under the head of "Our own Labours," he says, "Of the Australian Seas, the truly devoted exertions of the late Captain Stanley, have given to us in the southern coast of New Guinea a gratifying conviction that the Admiralty, having thus broken ground in the Pacific, will steadily advance from group to group, till its islands possess a somewhat less chaotic appearance in our charts."

Of all the different parts of the globe to which the scientific researches of our Hydrographical Office at the Admiralty, under its present enterprising Chief, Admiral Sir Francis Beaufort, extend, there can be none of more interest and importance than that, on which the *Rattlesnake* had lately been employed.

Mrs. Stanley, having kindly favoured me with a perusal of her son's private letters, as well as journals, I am enabled, by a few extracts, to show what were his real feelings, and with what untiring zeal he pursued the duties of the charge entrusted to him. Those only who have perused these interesting manuscripts can form any idea of the intense labour and anxiety with which he had to contend.

The commander of a surveying expedition has not only to cut out the work to be done, but has to select those

officers who, from peculiarities of taste, are most likely to perform each duty well. Some will take to the calculating part; others prefer the boat-work; then there are naturalists, and artists, each anxious for an opportunity of indulging his particular fancy. Boats, too, have to be sent on distant service; in these excursions there are always chances of their coming into collision with the natives; sudden and frequent gales, too, spring up in those seas, causing much anxiety.

All these various duties require a clear head, and, to get them done properly, the example in the Chief of an evenness of temper and a happy cheerful disposition: these qualities my lamented friend eminently possessed.

The frequent prevalence of hazy weather about Torres Straits not allowing ships an opportunity of correcting their observations, so as to ascertain their exact position, imaginary dangers had been so often reported and inserted from time to time on the charts, that the surveys of Captain King had been cruelly altered and twisted about, and appeared anything but correct; the errors into which masters of vessels had fallen were attributed to strong and irregular tides, frequently stirring up the mud and sand, so as to give the surface of the water the appearance of shoals, when in reality fifteen or twenty fathoms were frequently found in such places. It afforded Captain Owen Stanley no small gratification to be able to prove that his friend's survey was a correct one.

The scientific details of the *Rattlesnake's* expedition

have been so recently published, that I will confine myself to a few extracts from private communications to members of his family, which may give the unprofessional reader some idea of a surveying officer's duties and responsibilities.

In a letter to his mother under date of Dec. 14th, 1848, he writes :—" We have completed ten charts, each of which contains more work and more soundings than the one you saw ; and as I can find no one who can shade the hills, and do the finishing part of the work, I do it myself ; and have in addition the final working of all the astronomical calculations, in order to detect any errors,—then come all the sailing directions for the different reefs and shoals how you are to steer, N. E. or N. W. till such a rock bears so and so. After this comes a general description of the various points and anchorages, illustrated by drawings showing their appearances from every point from which you may approach them : and lastly, a detailed account of the various steps and methods by which the survey has been carried on ; so that, in addition to my charts, I have a very large amount of information to send home, and no small quantity of writing."

After completing the survey of the inner passage, and visiting Port Essington, the *Rattlesnake* returns to Sydney, where she arrives Jan. 24th, 1849. "*Rattlesnake* leaves Moreton Bay May 26th, 1849, *en route* to survey the Louisiade Archipelago and southern coast of New Guinea.

“The S. E. trade having now fairly set in with fine weather, we are speeding merrily along across this unknown sea filled with coral reefs and shoals, to commence our work upon what is most likely the least known portion of the globe.”

It would appear that the French Expedition under D'Entrecasteaux and D'Urville contented themselves with distant views of the land from the outer edge of the Barrier reef, which they took great care not to approach too closely; but with patience and perseverance Stanley hoped to be more fortunate.—On June 13th, his journal continues, “My birthday, and a better day could not be chosen for the commencement of our survey.” All that day, with the *Bramble* ahead, they search in vain for an opening in the coral reef “till the setting sun warned them off a coast where the lead is of little or no use.”

On the second day, after many hours' sailing, the *Bramble* observes a narrow blue line making a break in the Barrier reef; she gets in and telegraphs—“the passage, although narrow, is practicable;” and the *Rattlesnake* follows. “It was not,” he writes, “till we were fairly in it, that I saw how very narrow it was The water remained deep some little time, leading me to fear that we should not find anchorage inside; but, after a few minutes of the most intense anxiety, I had the pleasure of hearing ‘Matthews’ sing ‘by the deep eleven.’” After anchoring, they observe a village near them, the natives so shy that the writer adds, “I think they

never can by any chance have seen Europeans before, for I am sure none but surveying vessels would have come through the channel that we did, guided almost entirely by looking down on the reefs from the mast-head ; we are now, thank goodness, fairly in for it, right in the inner part of the Archipelago, with every chance of being able to explore places no civilised person has ever yet seen."

* * * * *

"Amongst the many ornaments worn as bracelets by these people, we saw several who wore a human jaw-bone with all its teeth, a little above the elbow of the left arm." The upper side, to form the armet, was formed (according to Mac Gillivray) by one or more collar bones crossing from one angle to the other, "one of which we obtained to-day at a very cheap rate. I have no doubt that a white man's skull would be the most precious thing they could possess ; and I am not quite sure that some of the naturalists on board would not be just as glad to get hold of one of theirs. I can fancy the Doctor and Mr. Huxly superintending the boiling down, and subsequent steps required to prepare a skull, should we by misfortune become possessed of one,—I say misfortune, because I hope to be able to continue the survey as we have commenced, without getting into any row with the natives, who, from what we have yet seen, appear to be much superior to those on the eastern coast of Australia, but are not to be trusted one inch."

These people must consult the same "*Magasin des Modes*" as the inhabitants of the "Pelican Island :"

"Bracelets of human teeth, fangs of wild beasts,
The jaws of sharks, and beaks of ravenous birds,
Glitter'd and tinkled round their arms and ancles ;
While skulls of slaughter'd enemies, in chains
Of natural elf-locks, dangled from the necks
Of those whose own bare skulls and cannibal teeth
Ere long must deck more puissant fiends than they."

June 25th, 1849.—Captain Stanley went away in his gig to examine a watering place, "and had to pull about a mile up a narrow winding creek, with the most luxuriant vegetation on each side, till at last we reached a rocky barrier extending from one side of the creek to the other, over which a most beautiful cascade of good water was falling, so as to ensure an abundant supply. As in these surveys water is always the thing that fails first, I cannot tell you the relief to my mind when we found such a supply, which will render us nearly independent till we reach Cape York."

July 2nd, 1849.—Having completed water, *Rattlesnake* proceeds a short distance further on.

July 4th.—On one occasion, being anxious to open a friendly communication with the natives, "having beached the galley," Captain Stanley writes :—"I landed alone and unarmed (except a small double-barrelled pistol in my pocket) and went towards the natives, who came forward in considerable numbers all armed with spears, and evidently very much inclined to distrust the nature of our visit. The galley's crew had orders to fire in case of any

attack being attempted on me ; but I must confess it was rather nervous work advancing alone, as the natives did not seem to wish to have any communication with us : but at last, having got within twenty yards of them, I tied a piece of coloured handkerchief to a stump on the beach and retired, making signs to them to come and take it. After some little hesitation one man came forward, the rest soon followed, and in less than five minutes I had the whole tribe round me eagerly asking for iron hoop".

July 6th, 1849.—“The pinnace and galley returned to-day from a four days' cruise, and reported having had a row with the natives.” It appears that three canoes containing about ten natives each went along-side first one boat and then the other, under pretence of barter, and then took to helping themselves ; on the boatman refusing to let them take the galley's anchor, they struck him over the head with a stone axe, while another struck the coxswain ; blows were exchanged ; the pinnace fired, and the natives ran away. Captain Stanley writes :—“I hope our friends have had a lesson which they will not forget in a hurry ; and our people too, in spite of all I could tell them of my experience to the contrary, were beginning to think that implicit confidence might be placed in these natives, as they seemed to be so much more civilised than those of Australia—but it will lessen our chance of friendly communication with them, which I am sorry for on the natives' account, as they might have obtained so very many valuable things from us.”

Captain Stanley remained at anchor under the reef sufficiently long to enable them to lay down the different observations that had been obtained for the construction of the charts. They then proceeded, directing the *Bramble* with some of the boats to continue the survey of the long-shore coast, while he in the *Rattlesnake* took the outer part of the work, as they could see much further from the more commanding height of the mast-head than from the boats.

July 10th, 1849.—“ So this morning away we all went most merrily, the ship with the two galleys skimming ahead like pilot-fish, to give notice of any shoal-water we might not see. As we neared the Barrier reef, the detached reefs became so numerous, and the channels between them so narrow, that I had to anchor in about as deep water as we had at Madeira, and send the boats to look round ; for it is very easy to get into a mass of these small reefs, with a fair wind ; but getting back again is not so easily done ; so that for the next two or three days we are most likely to be channel-hunting, which though of importance to us, will be of very little interest to you. From July 10th to 16th, we remained at an anchor off the Barrier reefs, and every day sent the boats away, in the hope of finding a practicable passage, but in vain. On the 15th, Lieutenant Simpson in the pinnace returned from the in-shore party, stating that there was every appearance of a clear channel to seaward from the point they had reached ; but in order to get there I had to retrace

my steps for more than thirty miles, and then had a most intricate passage to thread my way through, and it was very interesting and exciting work : first went the pinnace to show the way, Simpson and another man taller than he being perched on the spread yard to look out for shoals ; then came the two galleys, whose orders were to keep directly ahead of the ship ; and, lastly, under topsails jib and spanker, came the old ship, with Brown at the mast-head, Suckling and myself on the poop. To give you some little idea of the ground we had to go over, I merely mention two out of the many cases that happened : being anxious to come to, and having for some time obtained regular soundings, with from twenty to twenty-five fathoms, we took in the sail, and made all ready to let the anchor go ; but before giving the final orders one more cast of the deep sea lead was got, showing that in less than the tenth of a mile the depth had increased from twenty to forty fathoms,—rather too deep to anchor in—so we had to make sail again. In the second case the two galleys and pinnace about a mile ahead of the ship, but close to each other at the time, made the signal at having struck soundings ; the pinnace showed *thirty-five* fathoms, one galley *fourteen*, the other *five* ; directly after the pinnace showed *three* fathoms. Though the most careful look-out was kept from the mast-head, the shoals were often quite close to the ship before they were seen. Dirty weather—difficulty in finding anchorage—unknown danger—nervous work—especially at night.”

July 28th.—Soundings gained in 20 fathoms ; sail is shortened, and anchor let go ; but in the time required for taking the sail in, the ship had drifted into deep water. “ Here then we were in a pretty plight, an anchor and ninety fathoms of chain-cable hanging to the bows ; the reef not a mile from us, towards which the tide was setting ; the pinnace had only one more day’s provisions ; and the sea was too heavy for her to work outside, and too heavy for us to hoist her in, even if we had daylight : but there was nothing for it but to turn to with a will, and heave the anchor up ; and as every one felt the emergency of the case, there was no stop at the capstan, and in about thirty-eight minutes I had the satisfaction of getting the anchor once more to the bows. By this time we were very close indeed to the reef ; but, the anchor up, all anxiety on that point was at an end, as the sail soon carried the ship clear : but the next consideration was how to provide for the safety of the pinnace during the night, when a happy thought struck me that, though the sea was too heavy outside, yet from the pinnace’s light draught of water she might land on one of the islands, and light a fire which would serve as a beacon, and enable us to keep pretty well on the ground which we had previously surveyed, and knew to be clear.”

The next day, after hoisting the pinnace on board, they stand out to sea, “ very glad to feel the long ocean swell once more, after having been six weeks out of it.”

To his sister my friend writes, August 4th, 1849 :—
“ Those only, who have known the intense anxiety attendant upon a lengthened cruise amongst a mass of shoals and reefs, can at all understand the delight with which I went to sleep when we were fairly clear ; for the nature of the shoals among these islands is such, that the lead gives no warning whatever ; and though, day by day, the look-out from the mast-head may see the shoals, he is of no use at night, and even in the daytime I have taken the ship over shoals, with very little water on them, that looked like deep water from the mast-head, simply from the difference in the colour of the coral of which the shoals are composed ; and it does not add very much to one’s happiness to know that these isolated patches, many not larger than the ship, rise suddenly from deep water, so that, if you hit them hard enough to cause a serious leak, you have every prospect of going down, with some little chance of saving the lives of the crew, but none whatever of saving anything for them to eat.”

I regret that I have not space to make more copious extracts, with which these interesting letters and journals abound. I must, however, give the following, under date, August 16th, 1849 :—

“ One scene I will try to give you a faint idea of, and a very faint one it must be ; for I never saw the like before, and very much doubt if it will ever be my good fortune to see the like again.

“ After leaving the Louisiade and its surrounding reef, which, though it had given the French so much trouble, afforded us smooth water and good anchorage, we approached the coast of New Guinea. For nearly a fortnight, we were prevented by thick, misty, rainy weather, heavy gales, and strong currents, from gaining an anchorage; but one evening, having stood close into the land, to my very great joy I saw the *Bramble* and tender coming out from the mist with the signal flying, ‘ Anchorage is good.’ To make all possible sail, and follow her in, was the work of a very few minutes, and, after about three hours of the most intense anxiety, I heard the chain-cable running out. It was then quite dark ; so the next morning saw us all anxiously waiting for the sun to rise, to show us the land ; but alas ! the sun rose clearly enough from the sea, but over the whole of the land hung one dense mass of clouds, through which the space-penetrating power of Lord Rosse’s telescope would have had no effect.”

“ The deep, that like a cradled child
 In breathing slumber lay,
 More warmly blush’d, more sweetly smiled,
 As rose the kindling day :
 Through Ocean’s mirror, dark, and clear,
 Reflected clouds, and skies appear
 In morning’s rich array ;
 The land is lost, the waters glow,
 ’Tis heaven above, around, below ! ”

“ Except the island under the shelter of which we had anchored, nothing whatever could be seen on the land side but masses of heavy clouds above, and volumes

of rolling mist below, while, to make it more tantalizing, to seaward all was clear as possible.

“ About an hour before sunset, a change came over the scene far more magical, far more sudden than anything ever attempted on the stage, when the dark green curtain is drawn up to show the opening scene of some new pantomime. All at once the clouds began to lift, the mist dispersed, and the coast of New Guinea stood before us, clearly defined against the sky, tinged with the rays of the setting sun.

“ The mountains seemed piled one above another to an enormous height, and were of a deeper blue than I have ever seen before even in the Straits of Magellan ; they were intersected by tremendous gorges, and from the foot of the lowest ranges, a considerable tract of low and apparently alluvial soil reached to the beach.

“ To give an idea of this scene by description would be utterly impossible,—the intense blue of the mountains contrasted strangely with masses of white fleecy clouds driven rapidly past them by the gale,—the bright gleams of the setting sun on the nearer hills, covered with most luxuriant vegetation, from which most mysterious little jets of very white smoke from time to time burst out,—and the two surveying ships quite in the foreground, surrounded by native canoes,—completed the picture which we did not enjoy very long ; for in these latitudes, as you well know, there is no twilight, and in less than an hour from the time the clouds began to rise, all was dark ; and though

we saw many of the peaks again, we never had another chance of seeing the whole range so clearly.

“ Mr. Brierly,* the artist who accompanied me from Sydney, made the most of the time ; but no painter can ever give due effect to that sunset.

“ From subsequent observations I find that some of the hills must have been forty-eight miles off, and were at least as high as the peak of Teneriffe.

“ If from so great a distance the effect could be so grand, what must it be amongst those mountains ?”

From the 16th August, to the 1st September, they experienced continued dirty weather, thick and hazy in-shore, blowing hard outside.

On the 1st September the *Bramble* stood out and communicated that, when she was anchored pretty close in-shore, for the purpose of obtaining observations, the wind being very light, the natives had come off in forty canoes containing about 300 men armed with spears, and had surrounded the vessel with every appearance of hostility ; but those in the nearest canoes seeing the sudden muster of the armed crew, and not quite understanding the look of the guns as they were run out, and which most of the natives had *heard speak*, made a retrograde movement which was discreetly followed by the whole force.

* This is the same gentleman to whose pencil I am indebted for the illustrations to this work ; and I avail myself of the opportunity to add that no officer could have on board his ship a more agreeable, accommodating, or intelligent companion, nor, in my judgment, an artist of more decided talents for the varied subjects likely to present themselves.—H. K.

Having completed the survey of that part of the coast to where it had been previously examined by Lieutenant Yule, the *Rattlesnake* returned to Cape York.

On October 6th, 1849, he writes from Evan's Bay, Cape York :—

“ The relief to my mind on arriving here safely after such a cruise must be imagined, not described ; even when all the dangers of an unknown sea had been overcome, we might have found the wells dry and not a drop of water to be procured ; trusting to this our last resource, we *had* carried on till a very few days' supply was left on board ; and during the last month we had been drinking the water caught by the awnings during the heavy rains on the coast of Guinea.

“ What my feelings were on dropping the anchor here in safety I can hardly tell you ; mentally, intense gratitude prevailed ; bodily, intense fatigue, which I had not at all felt before, came on at once, and I must have slept twelve hours without turning round or even dreaming.

“ We have had no sickness of any consequence on board ; not a single accident to either of the vessels or their boats, though the latter have been away in the worst of weather ; and the same degree of harmony exists at this moment as when we left Madeira. I never knew either officers or men work more willingly.”

The expected provision-ship arrived at Cape York the day after the *Rattlesnake*.

On December 3rd, they sailed from Cape York on

their return to Sydney by way of Torres Straits and the Louisiade Archipelago, and arrived at Port Jackson, where we found them on the 7th February.

Early on the morning of the 13th March my poor friend, Owen Stanley, was found dead in his cabin; his end must have been sudden, as he had been called by the officer of the watch not long before. His remains were interred with all the honors due to his rank, in the burial ground of the parish church of St. Leonards on the north side of the river, he having expressed a wish that, in case of his dying in Australia, this should be his final resting place—it is a quiet, pretty, and more secluded spot than the cemetery at Sydney.

The journals of my lamented friend, from which I have quoted, would have proved—had he been spared to publish them himself—an acquisition to their class of literature; and thus, through the medium of libraries and book-clubs, he might already have been more *popularly* known, as no degenerate scion of a gifted stock. But in some cases—and those of the highest order—the *public* can scarcely appreciate the claims of merit. It is happy for SCIENCE that she is her own reward, and that her votaries court her for herself. By his love of science, and by his zeal in the arduous path of scientific duty, Captain Stanley was enabled, with but slight physical or constitutional powers, to throw into the performance of his laborious mission his distinguished father's energy, and patiently, for the benefit of the whole family of man, to track, as it

were, the steps of HIM, "whose way is in the sea, and his path in the great waters, and whose footsteps are not known."

To investigate these, so far as we *are* allowed to do so, is exclusively the privilege of the scientific mind: to define them for the guidance of mankind is the most sublime and philanthropic application, of which genius is susceptible on earth. The nautical surveyor needs no monument, beyond the records of precious lives, noble vessels, rich freights, saved from peril instrumentally by his accuracy,—the commercial facilities emanating from his difficulties,—the quiet confidence amid strange and treacherous waters, which nations derive from his anxieties.

In every *such* monument throughout the commercial world the name of *Owen Stanley* has achieved a place; while the regrets of all who knew him professionally tell of his estimation as an officer; and the sorrow, still fresh in many a mourning heart, attests the void that he has left in private life.

"His spirit hath return'd to HIM
 Who gave its heavenly spark;
 Yet think not, Sun, it shall be dim,
 When thou thyself art dark!
 No! it shall live again, and shine
 In bliss unknown to beams of thine;
 By HIM recalled to breath,
 Who captive led captivity,
 Who robb'd the grave of Victory,
 And took the sting from Death."

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CHAPTER XXIV.

LAST DEFECTIVE—PROCEED TO HOBART TOWN—HOME COMPARISONS—KANGAROO HUNTING—SQUATTERS' MODE OF LIFE—PACK OF BEAGLES—HOBART TOWN RACES—TRANSPORTATION QUESTION—SHAM-FIGHT WITH 99TH REGIMENT—DEPARTURE FROM HOBART TOWN—ARRIVE AT SYDNEY—NORFOLK ISLAND—DESCRIPTION—PHILIP AND OTHER ISLANDS—CAVES—TIDES—FISH—SOIL, CLIMATE, AND PRODUCE—POULTRY—BIRDS—BEES—PUBLIC BUILDINGS—RIDE OVER THE ISLAND—GOVERNOR'S COOK—CROSSING THE BAR—BOAT SWAMPED—SUMMARY PROCEEDINGS OF AN EARLY GOVERNOR—CONCLUSION.

DURING our refit at Sydney, on lifting the rigging, we discovered the head of our mizen-mast to be rotten, and as there was a mast of the same dimensions in the *Anson* convict ship at Hobart Town, it having been originally made for the *Southampton* frigate, I applied to the Governor of Van Diemen's Land for permission to appropriate it for the *Mæander*.

We sailed from Port Jackson on the 20th March—It being the time of the recess, a very agreeable party were enabled to accompany us ; among my guests were Captain Fitzroy, A.D.C. with his brother George, private secretary, and master of a pack of fox-hounds ; also Mr. Deas

Thompson, whom my friend Colonel Mundy so justly describes as "the prince of colonial secretaries and of good fellows," and, judging from the directions I received from the Governor as to the care of and attention to be shown him, he was not less appreciated at head quarters.

Pleased as we were with the appearance of everything about Sydney, we were still more so with Hobart Town. To a great superiority in the picturesque it added the advantage of an English climate. As we entered the town it was difficult to imagine ourselves in the antipodes of England: English fruits and vegetables were exposed for sale in the shops, apple and potato-stalls were kept by old women in the streets: the public carriages as well as horses reminded one of the good old coaching days in England.

These convenient means of conveyance induced many of our party to make excursions into the country. The road from Hobart Town to Launceston is little inferior to that from London to Birmingham. The country we passed through, the quickset hedges, farm houses, stacks of corn and hay, the inns by the road-side, at which the coach changed horses or stopped ten minutes to dine, the good roast leg of mutton and potatoes hot and ready, the "coming" waiter, with bad brandy and worse cigars,—all reminded us of home.

We remained some days in the country, and I shall not soon forget the kind hospitality I experienced. It was the winter, and hunting season; and the Governor, Sir William Denison, who is a lover of the sport, kindly

mounted me. Our meet one morning was at Oatlands, the residence of the master of the hounds, prettily situated on the banks of the Macquarrie River; there was a *déjeuner* for a large party; and no young ladies, with all the advantages of English society and English education, could have presided at the table with more natural grace than did the pretty sisters of our worthy host, assisted by an equally pretty friend, none of whom had ever been out of the colony. In the field too these young ladies were equally conspicuous for their nerve and graceful riding.

Our game was the kangaroo; the pack were fox-hounds. If awkward fences and dangerous jumping add to the excitement of the chase, the sport could not be surpassed in merry England, nor could the well-mounted cheery set of young fellows who composed the field be outdone in deeds of gallant riding by any in the world. The sea-captain's performances on the Governor's mare, which had always been accustomed to a good place in the run, afforded, I flatter myself, amusement to my entertainers for some days after.

There were, besides, in the neighbourhood, a first-rate pack of beagles. Just before we sailed from Hobart Town I received a letter, which I much prize, from Mr. William Allison, one of the young men with whom I had crossed the country, and with whom I had established a friendship. He was the son of a "*squatter*," who had been an officer in the navy, and was one of the finest specimens I ever saw of an old mariner; he had served his country throughout the

eventful period of the late war. The perusal of the son's letter could not fail to give the reader a very favourable impression of the style of man one may meet in that distant land ; he had the management of 40,000 acres, with a flock of some 20,000 sheep, and was deeply interested in the welfare of the colony. I refrain from publishing it without leave ; on the subject of the sport, in which he knew I should be interested, he says, " We had the most glorious run on Saturday I ever saw, or perhaps ever shall see again, with Nat's* beagles : after a run of twelve miles, the kangaroo, a forester, jumped dead ten yards in front of the hounds ; we had no check, and during the last four miles we frequently viewed him, there were only Nat, myself, a younger brother, and a Mr. Difrose in at the death ; had you been with us, as we often wished, you would have been there too. Mrs. Lord sent you the kangaroo, which we hope reached safely."

The Hobart Town Races came off during our stay, and afforded good sport ; there was a Governor's Cup to be run for. On the ground there were more rogues, and a more experienced set of thimble-rig gentry than are to be found on a well conducted race-course in England, which does not afford the same market as formerly to the lower classes of sharpers and gamblers ; nor indeed to the idler, unconnected with the turf, has it half the amusement of this colonial race-course.

* A younger brother of the writer.

The question of the importation of convicts, which is now likely to be merged in the all-absorbing gold diggings, appeared to interest three distinct parties. The most powerful was that of the lower orders, inhabiting the capital, whose object it was, by excluding the convict, to keep up high wages. In three days they earn sufficient, where provisions are so cheap, to keep them for the remainder of the week ; this gives them ample leisure to attend to politics. This party, as in other countries, found advocates among respectable senators, and were powerful at the seat of Government.

A second party, consisting of the clergy generally and a few other respectable individuals, objected to the immoral tendency which the introduction of convicted felons must have.

The third party, the real colonists, the cultivators of the soil, on whose stability and welfare the colony mainly depended, saw nothing but ruin in the proposed sudden change ; they were earnest in their protestations, and denied the extent of the immoral effect caused by the introduction of felons. Gang-labour may be bad ; but I believe, with very few exceptions, the convict labourer employed in the country is better behaved than the free settler. The owners of land have more means of improving, and more command over, a man who has something to gain by good conduct and everything to lose if he does not behave well, than he can possibly

have over the free man, who can come and go just as it suits his convenience.

On the 18th April the 99th regiment and ourselves amused the inhabitants of Hobart Town by a sham-fight: the soldiers were to occupy some Government ground called "The Paddocks," and oppose an invasion.

As soon as the 99th had taken up their position in a wood to the rear, the invading force effected a landing, and were driving in the enemy's pickets, when they were suddenly out-numbered and obliged to retire on their boats, making a gallant stand at the end, to cover the re-embarkation of their artillery. Much ammunition was expended. So large a concourse of people had never before been seen in Hobart Town.

Before taking our departure, I had the gratification of receiving Sir Willian Denison on board, and giving him a few hours' cruise in the Derwent River,—a recreation he appeared particularly partial to. Such were the attractions of Hobart Town, that we had some difficulty in collecting our Sydney friends; but as I was under a promise to Sir Charles Fitzroy to return them safe by a certain date, we could no longer delay our departure, and we consequently sailed on the 20th April: with no small regret we finally parted with them at Sydney on the 26th.

The *Havannah*, Captain Erskine, in charge of the Australian station, had arrived a few hours before us from a visit to the Enderby Islands.

On the 3rd May, we quitted Port Jackson in con-

tinuation of our route for Port Nicholson and Auckland ; but, the wind heading us off, we stood on to Norfolk Island, which we made on the evening of the 7th, and stood off and on for the night. Early the following morning the Governor, Mr. Price, kindly sent a whale-boat off, as it was not advisable to attempt landing in our own boats, owing to the surf which appears to break on every part of the coast. A short pier forms a sort of break-water ; and a skilful helmsman, as he rushes in with the last roller, will turn the boat so as to shoot into smooth water, where a tolerable landing, under the lee of the pier, may be effected. An unskilful helmsman generally manages to have his boat landed on the rocks, where, the moment she strikes, there are plenty of convicts ready to rescue the passengers, some of them without even a wetting : this was my case ; but fatal accidents do occasionally happen.

The group of islands of which this is the principal, lies in $168^{\circ} 1'$ east longitude, and $29^{\circ} 2'$ south latitude. It was discovered by Captain Cook in 1774, and consists of two considerable islets, Norfolk and Philip, distant about six miles from each other, with about a dozen others,—Nepean and the Bird Islands,—which are little more than dry rocks distributed about the main islands.

Norfolk Island is not quite five miles long, with a medium breadth of about two and a half ; and its superficies is about 8960 acres, and greatest height, at two points close together, forming the double summit of Mount Pitt, 1050 feet. These numbers are the result of a rough

survey, with very defective instruments, and may be somewhat below the mark.

Philip Island is about a mile and a quarter long, with a medium breadth, not exceeding three quarters of a mile ; its height probably from 800 to 900 feet. It is almost everywhere precipitous, its sides being furrowed with deep channels or gullies ; it is densely wooded, though the timber is small, and of little value ; it does not appear capable of occupation to economical advantage. As a punishment station, however, or as an invalid station, where the infirm could be kept apart altogether from the able and effective men,—for even in sickness they are here frequently ill-conducted—it might be occupied with considerable benefit to discipline.

Garden-ground could be easily procured and made available ; but means must be taken to exclude the rabbits, with which the island abounds, but which, owing to the present state of the brushwood and the shelter of the gullies, are enabled to evade the keenest sportsman.

Water has been found at one known spot, and probably could be procured elsewhere.

Government House, which is spacious and comfortable, stands on a small hill, which rises somewhat abruptly about fifty feet above the adjoining level.

Nepean Island, about 400 yards from the beach, rises to the height of about fifty feet. It is about a quarter of a mile or less in length, of a horse-shoe form, open to the

east ; water has not been found on it, and vegetation has within the last few years disappeared, owing, it is said, to the number of rabbits, which, having destroyed everything edible, perished themselves. Birds only are now found on it—chiefly gannets and mutton birds.

The Bird Islands distributed along the north shore exactly resemble the cliffs opposite to them,—they are utterly useless, and are tenanted extensively by birds, particularly the gannet, boatswain, and sea-swallow, the two latter of which are rarely seen on the other side of the island.

The tides run with great rapidity among these Bird Islands ; and thus, though the distance be but a few yards, it is difficult to swim off to them. Both they and the cliffs opposite to them are extensively hollowed into caves and recesses by the action of the water, and in some cases also by human agency. The porphyry is easily formed into a cave, and almost all the men who abscond form some such retreat, where it is sometimes very difficult to find them. Some of the mutineers who, in 1827, seized the boats and escaped to Philip Island, thus lived thirteen months before they were retaken, and many stories are current of the extent of cave found under its principal peak. There is, however, a cave of considerable extent on the south-west side of Norfolk Island, which has been hollowed out by the action of the water. The entrance forms a Gothic arch ; the columns are regular, and appear as if they had been cut by human agency, and not formed by the Great

Architect of Nature. The roof is lofty, broken and irregular ; and at the extreme end of it a large block of porphyry stands in the centre, which we might almost fancy to be the presiding genius of the place, the base of which is covered with a carpet of sea-weed.

The tides run so rapidly that with a light wind it is difficult for a ship to keep her station ;—and there is frequently much delay in clearing her ; the anchorage, as I mentioned before, is not considered safe.

The flood-tide sets to the west—the rise of tide about six feet, and time of high water at full and change, 7h. 45m. The general tides are regular, and commonly speaking will carry a ship clear of danger, not into it. The only exceptions are the Bumbora rocks at the south-west extremity, and a low point almost corresponding to them, projecting from the south-west point of Nepean ; on both these the tides set almost directly, and as they are respectively at the east and west extremities of the bay in which the settlement is placed, and not more than three miles and a half apart, they add much to its other inconveniences.

Soundings in deep water may be obtained on most sides of the island—on these there is tolerably good fishing.—Sharks are common, but small, not exceeding five feet ; they have never been known to molest a man, but when a large fish is hooked, they not unfrequently help themselves to half of it, before you can haul it to the

surface. Among the fish taken are two species of cod, one black, rising to 200lbs., and one brown, of about 17lbs. The shoal-fish are—king-fish, trevaley, salmon, groper, skipjack, and trumpeters ; small guard-fish are frequently driven within the reefs by their numerous enemies. The king-fish seems to be the master ; wherever he appears the others give way. All these fish are palatable though dry. They are clean in the autumn and winter, but dry in the spring. About October their fry are seen floating about in abundance ; and when they are caught at this time, the different kinds have almost always the fry of some other kinds in their stomachs, but never their own. They all take salt well. An accessible boat-harbour might be formed ; and if you could persuade the volunteer fishermen not to run away, a valuable fishery might be established on the island, and might contribute materially to its economical resources.

The soil and climate of Norfolk Island are more adapted to the growth of maize than wheat ; the latter is a most uncertain crop. Rust and smut are the prevailing and fatal diseases ; and when any part becomes affected, the fungi speedily spread to the adjoining crops, and their destructive properties are too speedily developed. Barley, oats, and rye, have been cultivated with tolerable success.

The soil and climate of Norfolk Island are also adapted to the cultivation of cotton, perhaps more so than any other : the produce of two rods planted by Captain

Machonochie on the west side of his garden was immense, and of superior texture. Tobacco and arrowroot have also been grown with considerable advantage. A partial attempt has been made to improve some of the pastures by sowing clover, rye, and other grasses; but, from either the bad quality of the seed or the drought, little germinated. Guinea is the most valuable indigenous grass, and grows luxuriantly: it is eagerly sought for by horses, horned cattle, and swine, but sheep prefer the other kinds, and only feed on the young shoots. Lucerne has been introduced and thrives well, but it is said not to seed. (For the woods, shrubs, and vegetables, see Appendix.)

Every description of domestic poultry thrives well, and fowl is of good quality; the common pigeon is abundant, and when young, good eating. The white guinea-fowl was once abundant but is now extinct; the grey are getting more common. A fine wood-quest is still to be found about Mount Pitt, and attempts have been made to domesticate it, but without success. There are some however in the aviary of the Government House at Hobart Town.

There are three varieties of parrots,—a blue and red lowrie (*Psittacus Penantis*), a green parrot, and a mule. A fourth is said to exist on Philip Island of surpassing beauty, but has not been caught for the last few years. Kingfishers are common, but their plumage is dingy. There is a variety of the blackbird; of the robin, too, with a scarlet

breast and white head ; guava birds, white-eyes, fantails, &c. all popularly so named. None have much note, though they are not altogether silent. A hive of bees was introduced by Captain Maconochie in 1840 ; they have thriven well, and besides being in most of the officers' gardens are now also wild in the bush. The quality of the honey is excellent. There are neither snakes, lizards, nor centipedes on Norfolk Island, though the two latter are found on Philip Island.

The military barracks are capable of containing a regiment. The Commissariat store is lofty and roomy. The convict barracks are three stories high, they will contain about 1100 men. The prisoners sleep in hammocks in two tiers, suspended to wooden frames, upwards of 115 are contained in some of the wards ; each prisoner is allowed one blanket, which, with the hammock, forms his whole bedding.

The thermometer seldom descends below 65 deg.

The jail is a small quadrangular building, not calculated in any way to meet the wants of the settlement ; a new one is in progress.

The convict hospital is small.

In the prisoners' barracks are a Protestant and a Catholic chapel—there are shoemakers' and tailors' shops also within the barrack walls.

The convicts attached to the agricultural establishment are employed principally in the cultivation of maize, and the labour is formed almost exclusively with the hoe.

Artificers of every description are to be found among the prisoners, and all have their allotted work. Their daily ration consists of $1\frac{1}{2}$ lb. maize meal, 1 lb. salt beef, 1 oz. of sugar, and $\frac{1}{4}$ oz. soap. The expense of the settlement is about £30,000 per annum. In 1787 the island was colonised by free settlers and prisoners from New South Wales, under Captain King, R. N. In 1809 an unsuccessful attempt was made by the free settlers, military, and prisoners, to take possession of the island. In the following year this sink of iniquity was abandoned, and every building demolished.

On the 4th June, 1825, it was re-occupied as a penal settlement, by Captain Turton, six civilians, fifty soldiers, and fifty prisoners.

The Governor kindly took me a ride over the island. It is difficult to imagine a more beautiful or lovely spot. At every hundred yards a fresh scene broke on us. Our road to Mount Pitt, upwards of 1000 feet above the level of the sea, lay through groves of orange and lemon-trees. It required only a suitable population to make it a little paradise ; but at present the recurrence of one's thoughts to the desperate men who inhabit the soil constantly dispels any agreeable illusion. The present Governor has, by a conciliatory but firm system, greatly alleviated the horrors and suffering of the prisoners, many of whom are thrice-convicted felons. During our ride we passed several groups of these desperate men, but their hats were immediately doffed,

and they seemed to respect, while they stood in awe of, the all-powerful Governor.

At Government House we were hospitably entertained at an early dinner, to enable us to cross the bar and get on board before sunset. At dinner I could not help remarking what a superior artist the Governor had in the way of a cook ; he was a doubly-convicted murderer, and had once been reprieved when the rope was round his neck : he boasted of having had a shot, while in the bush of Australia, at my much-respected friend, Mr. Deas Thompson, the Colonial Secretary.

In going on board we were not so fortunate in crossing the bar,—the boat, which was too deeply laden, got swamped. Owing, however, to arrangements ashore and the activity of the convicts, no lives were lost.

On my asking the man who had rescued me from a watery grave, to whom I was indebted for the kind assistance, he informed me that his name was Emerson, and that he had been transported for doing a bit of highway robbery while in the service of *my father!*

Our second attempt to get off was more successful, owing to our having divided ourselves into two parties, and thereby lightening the boat. Our great loss was in a couple of hundred young Norfolk Island pine-trees, some of which I did hope to bring to this country, but they never recovered the salt-water soaking.

That Governors of Norfolk Island have sometimes found

it necessary to take strong measures will appear from the following well-known occurrence :—

In October, 1827, a man named Clynych, who had been some time an absentee, attacked Captain Wright, the then Governor, with an iron boar-spear, when on his way from Longridge to the settlement. The commandant, being an active man, parried the thrust with his stick, and reached the settlement with only a slight flesh wound. The military were sent in pursuit of the offender, but without success. On the following day Clynych robbed a free overseer of his watch, in the presence of his gang, not one of whom attempted to prevent him, although requested to do so by the overseer. On the 28th, Clynych was detected in attempting to break into the hospital, for the alleged purpose of murdering an informer who was an inmate of that place ; being closely pursued, he was captured on the flat opposite the military barracks. A few minutes after his apprehension, and after he had been handcuffed, a sergeant walked up to him, put a pistol to his head, and blew his brains out, in pursuance of an order to that effect issued by the Governor immediately after the attack on himself, thereby forestalling the more ignominious death that awaited him.

Captain Wright was removed in consequence of this outrage. Although such an instance of summary punishment inflicted by order of a Governor is without a parallel, still there are many as great villains as Clynych constantly to be found among the felons on Norfolk Island.

I have already stretched my "Indian Archipelago" beyond its legitimate bounds. I will therefore take leave of my readers, and proceed without them on our still interesting, although more frequented course.—Passing through Cook's Straits, we visited Port Nicholson, and subsequently Port Auckland, as well as the Bay of Islands in New Zealand, an interesting account of which places has lately been published, by Colonel Mundy. After visiting Tonga-Tabou, one of the Friendly Islands,—descriptive notices of which are now in the press, from the pens of two different authors,—we entered the Great Pacific Ocean, calling at Tahiti on our way to Valparaiso.

After a twelvemonth passed on that agreeable station, we returned to England through the Straits of Magelhaens, arriving at Spithead towards the end of July, 1851, in time to see the Grand Exhibition in the Crystal Palace.

I have never met with a full description of a very curious insect, or plant,—"*The Bulrush Caterpillar*;" and as anything belonging to natural history is interesting to all classes, I will here subjoin a few remarks on that curiosity, which I obtained, with several specimens, from the Rev. R. Taylor, of Warinote, a close and enthusiastic observer of all that is to be found rare and curious in nature, in the fields and bush of New Zealand.

"This singular plant, of which the native name is

Aweto Aolete, may be classed among the most remarkable productions of the vegetable kingdom. There are birds which dispossess others of their nests, and marine animals which take up their abode in deserted shells ; but this plant surpasses all in killing and taking possession ; making the body of an insect—and that too very probably a living one—the foundation from which it rears its stem, and the source from which it derives its support. It certainly forms one of the most surprising links between the animal and vegetable kingdoms yet noticed ; and, as such, merits as circumstantial a description as our present imperfect acquaintance with it will allow.

“The *Aweto* is only found at the root of one particular tree—the *Nata*—the female *Pohutukana*. The root of the plant, which in every instance exactly fills the body of the caterpillar, in the finest specimens attains a length of three inches and a half ; and the stem, which germinates from this metamorphosed body of the caterpillar, is from six to ten inches high ; its apex, when in a state of fructification, resembles the club-headed bulrush in miniature, and, when examined with a powerful glass, presents the appearance of an onion. There are no leaves : a solitary stem comprises the entire plant ;—but if any accident break it off, a second stem rises from the same spot. The body is not only always found buried, but the greater portion of the stalk as well, the seed-vessel alone being above ground : when the plant has attained its maturity, it soon dies away. These curious plants are

far from uncommon: I have examined at least a hundred. The natives eat them when fresh, and likewise use them—when burnt—as colouring matter for their tattooing, rubbing the powder into their wounds, in which state it has a strong animal smell. When newly dug up, the substance of the caterpillar is soft; and, when divided longitudinally, the intestinal canal is distinctly visible. Most specimens possess the legs entire, with the living part of the head, the mandibles and claws. The vegetating process invariably proceeds from the nape of the neck; from which it may be inferred that the insect, in crawling to the place where it inhumes itself prior to its metamorphosis, whilst burrowing in the light vegetable soil, gets some of the minute seeds of this fungus between the scales of its neck, from which, in its sickening state, it is unable to free itself; and which consequently—being nourished by the warmth of the insect's body, then lying in a motionless state—vegetate, and not only impede the progress of change in the chrysalis, but likewise occasion the death of the insect. That the vegetating process commences during the lifetime of the insect appears certain, from the fact that the caterpillar, when converted into a plant, always preserves its perfect form. In no one instance has decomposition appeared to commence, or the skin to have contracted or expanded beyond its natural size.

“A plant of a similar kind has been discovered growing in abundance on the banks of the *Murrumbidgee*, New

South Wales, in a rich black alluvial soil. Both are cryptogamous plants.

“It is a curious instance of a retrograde step in nature, when the insect, instead of rising to the higher order of the butterfly, and soaring to the skies, sinks into a plant, and remains attached to the soil in which it buried itself.”

APPENDIX.

I.

LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS READ OR REFERRED TO BY MR. HUME
IN PARLIAMENT—ADDRESS FROM THE MERCHANTS OF SINCA-
PORE TO SIR JAMES BROOKE—LETTER FROM MR. VIGORS TO
SIR JAMES BROOKE.

1.

MR. HUME “having understood that one of the officers of the
East India Company’s service had commanded on the coast of
Borneo, he applied to that gentleman for information, and received
from him the following reply :—

“ “ Dec. 3, 1850.

“ “ I have just received your note, and I am sorry that I am not in
town to call upon Mr. Hume. When I first heard of Sir James
Brooke’s expedition, I was led to suppose that the Dyaks in
question were noted and desperate pirates, but I subsequently
learnt that they were merely enemies of the Sarāwak tribe, and had
been so for many generations, in fact, from time immemorial.
During the sixteen months that I was stationed on the coast of
Borneo I never heard of or saw a pirate, which greatly disappointed
me, as I was led to suppose that the coast abounded with them.
From information that I received from one of the principal merchants

of Singapore, I learnt that small coasting vessels under the English flag had been in the habit of trading to and from Bruni for the last twenty-five years, and that they had never been molested; so I have come to the conclusion that the enemies of the Sarāwak tribe are not pirates or enemies of this great and happy land, and I cannot help telling you that from all I have heard I am thankful that the ship I commanded was not engaged in the late affair.’”

2.

“Captain Daniell, writing from Plymouth, December 9, 1850, said,—

“‘I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 6th instant, and in reply I have the pleasure to acquaint you that I was in command of the Honourable Company’s steam-frigate *Semiramis*, stationed on the coast of Borneo, from March, 1849, to May, 1850, during which time I never fell in with a pirate. As regards Sir James Brooke’s expedition against the Dyaks in question, I beg to state that I never heard of their having molested an English or foreign vessel.’”

3.

“He (Mr. Hume) had also a letter from an officer on board a steam-frigate in the following terms:—

“‘October 28, 1850.

“‘I opine that no person has any business to voluntarily enter a witness-box, unless he has some positive evidence to give on the occasion in question. Now, the question is, what have I to say regarding the massacre of Malay pirates (so called) in 1849,—simply that I was stationed at Labuan for the protection of the island from — to — in the —; that I made three subsequent trips, and remained a few days each time; and that I paid a flying

visit to Sarāwak in the same vessel. In all these trips I never fell in with any pirates, nor did anything I heard there lead me to infer that the Malays in that neighbourhood were given to piracy, in the sense generally taken of that term by Englishmen. What I inferred was, that the different tribes were given to war upon each other, as their more civilised brethren in other parts of the world are. No person that had seen their prahus could have any great dread of them as sea pirates; indeed, so little are they dreaded, that vessels so small as forty-five tons, with crews of eight or ten men, and they Malays, with a single European to navigate, run constantly between Singapore and Borneo Proper without any dread of them. Being obliged to leave Labuan from ill-health, and no other opportunity offering at the time, I went to Singapore from that place in a schooner of forty-five tons, with a crew of four Malays, one maalam or navigator, and an Indian Lascar or tindal, accompanied by Lieutenant Rideout, of the 21st Madras Native Infantry, and our servants, our only arms a double-barrelled fowling-piece, and that in its case in the hold. It is true this latter was in what is called the bad season, when their prahus do not venture out, but the trading vessels before alluded to run constantly throughout the year.’”

4.

“He (Mr. Hume) had letters from Captain Young and Captain Daniell, of the Indian navy. The former officer said, under date of Bombay, January 17, 1851,—

“‘ You wish me to give an opinion on the affair with the Dyaks on the night of the 31st of July, 1849, apparently under the impression that I was present on that occasion. I had, however, returned to India some six months previously. I was on the coast of Borneo in command of the Honourable Company’s steam-frigate

Auckland from March to December, 1848, and during that time I once visited Sarīwak. I do not feel myself justified in giving an opinion on the affair in question, being doubtful how far that would be consistent with my duty as a Government servant. I am, however, perfectly willing, if called on officially, to give any information in my power.’”

5.

“He (Mr. Hume) would now read to the House a communication he had received from a gentleman who had been for twenty-eight years a resident at Sīncapore, and who knew that he was anxious to get information on this subject. His correspondent said,—

“‘Having read your suggestions from the *Daily News* of 22nd March respecting Borneo, and the supposed piratical expedition of July, 1849, under the command of Captain Farquhar, I have been induced to offer the following remarks on the Malays from Pontiana to Maludu Bay. I lived in Sīncapore seven years, and at Labuan two and a half years. I was the first adventurer to that island after it was taken possession of by the British Government; and I worked the coal mine under contract for the Admiralty from April 1847, to July, 1849, when the Eastern Archipelago Company took possession of the said mine. During the first fifteen months of that period I was the only inhabitant except the Malays on the island, with not even the corporal’s guard to protect me. While working the coal mine I often had occasion to leave my wife and children at Victoria Bay, about ten miles distant, for fourteen and twenty days together, when my presence was required at the mine, and on one occasion sixty days; showing that if, at that early period, the Malays had wished to commit any acts of dishonesty, they could have done so with impunity on my stores during my absence from home; yet we never experienced other than the greatest respect

from the Malays. I have no hesitation in saying I would as soon venture on a trading voyage on the coast of Borneo as that of England, or any other coast. While speaking of Malays I must not omit to mention the case of a young man named Burns, who left Labuan in a native prahu to visit the Bintulu River in search of antimony ore, with none but Malays accompanying him. He stayed there some three or four months, and was supplied with every necessary by the Malays. The Bintulu River is about half-way from Sarāwak to Labuan. When, however, Governor Brooke was informed of Mr. Burns being at the Bintulu River, he despatched the Honourable Company's steamer *Phlegethon* to fetch him away and land him at Labuan, which was done. Mr. Burns lived there with me, and spoke in the highest terms of the Malays during his stay among them at the Bintulu River. There can be only one opinion about the late massacre of the Malays formed by anybody acquainted with Sir James Brooke or Sarāwak—that it was to murder them into subjection of the Sarāwak Government. That Sir James Brooke is very much opposed to any European adventurers being on the coast of Borneo has been shown in the case of Burns and others. Neither are Europeans allowed to visit or reside at Sarāwak. This expedition was long talked of at Labuan; but I never heard it said to be undertaken on account of piracies; the alleged reason being that some Malays had made an attack on Sarāwak and taken some heads, which is a common mode of warfare among the Malays. I never heard it was for acts of piracy, neither that any parties had suffered as such; neither do I, or any other parties having a practical knowledge of the proceedings, believe one iota of it.' ”

“That letter he received from Mr. William Henry Miles.”

6.

“ He (Mr. Hume) would also beg the attention of the House to the following passage from a document signed in 1851, by fifty-three merchants of Sincapore :—

“ We beg to testify our cordial approval of your valuable and persevering exertions as a member of the Imperial Legislature, to call the attention of Parliament, and of the British public, to the measures which have been pursued against the communities of the Serebas and Sakarran Dyaks, inhabiting territories on the coast of Borneo adjacent to Sarāwak, and to discriminate between the usages and situation of these tribes and the piracies of the formidable marauders of the Archipelago, who have so long been known under the names of Illanuns or Lanuns, Soloos, and Balaninis. It is a fact perfectly notorious in this settlement, that until within these few years the alleged piracies of the Dyaks had never been heard of, and that the first circumstance which in any particular manner drew public attention in the Straits to the existence of the Serebas and Sakarrans, as hordes of pirates, was the invasion of their countries by Captain the Hon. H. Keppel, in Her Majesty's ship *Dido*—a measure which was at the time commented on by many here as unjustifiable. There is not one among us who ever heard the captain of a merchant vessel, or the nakoda of a trading prahu, mention their having seen a Dyak pirate; and the circumstance of either the one or the other of them having fallen in with or been attacked by prahus which were propelled by paddles, and had neither masts nor sails, would have been a novelty which could not have failed to attract attention, to say nothing of the want of firearms; and you will observe that, according to the deposition (printed in the Parliamentary papers regarding Borneo piracy) of Siup, a Sadong Malay, a prisoner taken from the Serebas on the 31st of July, 1849, ‘there were not more than four small

brass guns' in the whole fleet, although it could not have numbered less than 3000 or 3500 men; while it is a notorious fact that the same number of guns often forms the armament of a single Malay, Bugis, or other trading prahu of the Archipelago. It is, of course, morally impossible for us to aver that the Serebas and Sakarran Dyaks never have committed what we understand to be piracy, but the current testimony of every account which we are aware of being before the public regarding the Dyak races must be wholly rejected, if every case of an attack by the Serebas and Sakarrans against a neighbouring territory, whether inhabited by Malays or Dyaks, is to be considered an act of piracy. Such, however, appears to have been the principle acted on in regard to them from first to last, as the history of every invasion, and every attack of which they have been the object, will abundantly prove. It appears to us that the most that can be said for those who advocate their slaughter as pirates is, that the actual character of these tribes is matter of doubt. In the face of the tremendous carnage of the 31st of July, we will not here undertake to say that they were not pirates; but we confidently affirm our opinion that the evidence of their being pirates is the very opposite of being satisfactory. We conclude these observations with the expression of an earnest hope that Parliament will see fit to accede to your motion for inquiry, without which there can be no issue of this question satisfactory to the public mind.' ”

7.

“ He (Mr. Hume) had in his possession a letter written by the Hon. Captain Hastings, to whom he had addressed some inquiries, dated February 14, 1851, in which that gallant officer said:—

“ ‘ I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th inst., transmitting the enclosed letter for my perusal,

and acquainting me that it is your intention to bring before the House of Commons the conduct of Sir James Brooke on the 31st of July, 1849, and, as my conduct has been reflected upon in several public letters and documents, you trust that I will not object to state the circumstances that induced me to refuse compliance with Sir James Brooke's request on the occasion referred to in the enclosed. In reply, I have the honour to state that the reasons which induced me to refuse compliance on the occasion in question having been brought at the time under the notice of my superiors, and by them approved of, I am precluded from offering you any statement of the matter.'"

8.

ADDRESS FROM THE MERCHANTS OF SINGAPORE TO
SIR JAMES BROOKE

" SIR,

" *November 3, 1849.*

" We, the undersigned residents in Singapore, have observed with deep regret the attacks recently made on you, through a certain portion of the public press here and in England,—not merely against yourself personally, but against your public measures for the suppression of piracy; and as it is evident that these have originated in Singapore, and, from absence of contradiction, have gained partial currency in England, we feel it due to ourselves, as connected with this settlement, thus publicly to disclaim all participation in such statements, which, as well as the spirit of personal hostility which they indicate, we unequivocally condemn.

" We beg to express our opinion of the inevitable necessity which exists for the suppression of piracy on the coast of Borneo, and our approval of the measures which you have adopted to effect this. It is our conviction that it is the bounden duty of our Government, on principle, as well as policy,—by considerations of humanity, as well

as by the obligations imposed on us by the Treaty of 1824 with the Netherlands,—to extirpate piracy in the Archipelago wherever it is found; and thereby secure to the peaceful and industrious protection against the ruthless attacks of these savage hordes, whose formidable expeditions it has been proved beyond question are not those merely of tribes against tribes, but are the systematic combinations of organised and professed pirates, seeking only the destruction of life and property, from mere thirst of blood and rapine. We may regret the necessity which, in the performance of this duty, is imposed on you of exacting severe punishment, but we are satisfied it is inevitable; and that while the duty must be fulfilled, at whatever cost or sacrifice of life, your well-earned reputation for humanity and mildness of rule offers the best guarantee that in all your proceedings justice will be tempered by mercy,—a course of policy which we firmly believe has never been, and never will be departed from by you. We beg to offer our hearty congratulations to you on the great success which has hitherto followed your vigorous measures; and we trust that, in carrying out your enlightened views, you will not permit yourself to be influenced by hostile comments, founded on misapprehension,—from whatever quarter they may emanate. Our experience, acquired during a residence of many years in the Archipelago, forces on us the conviction that neither commerce nor civilisation can be extended while piracy in its present formidable extent exists.

“ Entertaining these sentiments, it was with much satisfaction we hailed your return to Borneo, invested with political functions; one of the first fruits of which has been an advantageous Commercial Treaty with Soloo; and we look forward with confidence to your future career being characterised by the same determination to uphold and extend British influence in the Archipelago by friendly intercourse with peaceful native states, not less than by resistance,

where occasion calls for it, against encroachments on the national rights of Great Britain by other powers.

“ We have,” &c. (Signed by twenty-two persons, including the representatives of all the mercantile firms—with the exception of three—established in Sincapore; it was not extended to the respectable class of natives.)

The following names will speak for themselves, with those who are acquainted with that settlement:—

JNO. PURVIS.	THO. H. CAMPBELL.
ED. BOUSTEAD.	ROBERT BAIN.
C. CANIN.	M. F. DAVIDSON.
G. W. G. NICOL.	CH. H. HARRISON.
JOAQUI D'ALMEIDA.	A. DGEM.
D'ALMEIDA, JUNR.	JOYE D'ALMEIDA.
AUGUST BEHN.	K. LOGAN.
WM. SCOTT.	W. R. GEORGE.
WILLIAM KER.	JNO. HARVEY.
J. ARMSTRONG.	C. MOSES.
H. LITTLE.	WALLER SCOUDUNCA.

9.

Much importance having been attached by Mr. Hume to a description of Captain Farquhar's action from the pen of Mr. Vigors, published in the *Illustrated London News*, and to that gentleman's supposed opinion thereon, I here subjoin a letter from Mr. Vigors to Sir James Brooke, with which it did not seem advisable to cumber the text. It completes the failure of Mr. Hume's own authorities.

“PERTH, WESTERN AUSTRALIA,

“MY DEAR SIR JAMES,

June 10th, 1851.

“I gather from your letter that my communication on the subject of the expedition against the pirates, which appeared in the *Illustrated London News* of the 10th November, 1849, has been

tortured so as to represent me either as expressing or entertaining a doubt, whether the people who were attacked by the force under Captain Farquhar's command were really pirates. I am altogether at a loss to conceive how any one could make such an attempt; surely my language on that point is clear and explicit enough to satisfy any unprejudiced person: but, however that may have been, I now state in the most unhesitating manner that I never entertained, nor wished others from my letter to infer, a doubt upon the subject. I always was, and still am, quite satisfied they were pirates: indeed, I was present when one of those who had escaped from the action, but who was subsequently taken prisoner, was examined by Mr. Wallage, the commander of the *Nemesis*, through an interpreter; and he, after having been well fed, and assured of his safety, stated that the balla, or fleet, which had been destroyed, had started for piratical purposes; he also confessed that they had, while on the expeditions, attacked the village of Maton and taken a trading prahu, as I stated in my published account of the affair. He also stated that he lived by piracy, attending his chiefs on grand ballas, and filling up the intervals of time by a little private piracy on his own account.

“No man can entertain a greater horror of unnecessary bloodshed than I do; and yet I do not for one moment hesitate to express my most unqualified approbation of all that was done in that expedition; the lesson was a severe one, but I am fully satisfied that it was necessary. I confess my inexperience, but yet I have acquired some knowledge of what was the state of the northern coast of Borneo, before Sarāwak was so fortunate as to possess its present ruler; and I cannot adequately express my admiration at the great and salutary change which has been wrought in the habits and manners of all the inhabitants of that coast, over whom your rule and influence have extended, which amelioration is to be attributed solely to the

judicious and admirable system pursued by you. In conclusion, Sir, I trust I may be permitted to offer my humble tribute of respect and esteem for, and admiration of, yourself personally, and also of your most praiseworthy and pre-eminently successful exertions in the cause of civilisation; and to express a sincere hope that your valuable life, on the preservation of which the advancement of civilisation in Borneo mainly depends, may be long spared; and that future generations of Dyaks, enjoying all the blessings of Christianity, civilisation, and good government, through your instrumentality, may bear perpetual testimony to the deep debt of gratitude which Borneo owes to you.—I am,

“ My dear Sir James,

“ With the deepest respect,

“ Yours very faithfully,

(Signed) “ B. URBAN VIGORS.

“ TO RAJAH SIR JAMES BROOKE, &c. &c. &c.”

II.

LEGAL PROOFS OF THE PIRATICAL CHARACTER OF THE SEREBAS, ETC.

*Being Extracts from Depositions taken under a Commission from the Court of
Judicature, Singapore, in September, 1849.*

DEPOSITION No. 1.

“SIUP, a Sadong Malay, residing lately at Serebas, maketh oath and saith, that he was out with the pirate-fleet which was attacked by the force under Commander Farquhar, and that there were thirty

men in the same prahu with himself, which prahu was run down by a steamer ;—deponent escaped into the jungle and was made prisoner the next day.

“The fleet consisted of one hundred and fifty prahus; the Datu Patingi of Serebas was the head of the balla or fleet. The Datu Bandar, Steer Wangsa, Panglima Rajah, Abong Dundang, and almost all the principal Malays of Serebas were also out in the fleet. Deponent further saith, that thirty of the prahus were from Rembas, twenty-five from Paku, and the rest from Padi and Liar (all these places are in the Serebas River); many of the Sakarran people were in the prahus mixed with the Serebas people. The Orang Kaya Pamancha and most of the other Dyak chiefs, and nearly all the grown-up persons, were likewise in the fleet. As to the number of men out on this excursion, deponent cannot exactly state, but he saith that very few prahus indeed had less than thirty men—many carried forty and fifty men, and some had a crew of seventy men. Deponent further saith, that there were not more than four small brass guns in the fleet, but that each prahu carried a few muskets and quantities of spears, swords, and shields.

“Deponent further saith, that this fleet on leaving the Serebas River proceeded to the entrance of the Niabur River and remained there one night :—from the Niabur the fleet proceeded to the entrance of the Palo where it stopped the second night. They were within sight of the houses of Palo but did not attack the place. From the Palo the fleet proceeded to the bay of Lassa, and on its way there captured and plundered a trading prahu laden with sago—deponent saw the capture made himself. From the bay of Lassa the fleet proceeded to the attack of the town of Mato, and near that town the fleet captured two other trading prahus, one was laden with sago, the other nearly empty. Deponent did not see these prahus burnt, but heard they were burnt after they had been plundered. The

fleet attacked Mato, but were repulsed with the loss of ten men. In the attack on Mato about half the force landed below the defences thrown across the river, and the other half engaged from their prahus. Deponent remained in his prahu ;—the party which landed killed one man and captured two women and two children who were with him. Deponent saw these persons himself subsequently to their capture.

“The deponent further saith, that within the last eight months, three large fleets have sailed from Serebas on piratical cruises. The Datu Patingi, the Datu Bander, and the Orang Kaya Pamancha attacked Sadong during the last rice harvest, and killed many people. The deponent was not present himself, but has seen and conversed with many persons who were—the fact is notorious. Sadong was attacked a second time with a fleet not so numerous, and likewise Palo near Sambas.

“The first fleet which attacked Sadong consisted of one hundred and forty prahus, and the second very large fleet was the one destroyed when the deponent was made prisoner.

“Besides these fleets, Abang Mansour with ten prahus attacked and took Simunjang, a branch of the Sadong River, and one prahu attacked the village of Sabangan.

“Deponent has never been but this once on a piratical cruise, and had he not gone he would have been killed by the chiefs of Serebas.

“Deponent when at Serebas resided at Paku.”

DEPOSITION No. 2.

“BURUT, a Bornean, maketh oath and saith, that his residence is at Bruné, that he was at Mato when that place was attacked by the Serebas pirates about two months ago. Deponent was one of the

crew of a large trading prahu, about sixty-five feet long and seventeen feet beam, built at Siriki belonging to Nakoda Masallah, and had just arrived from Sincapore, the cargo was piece goods; on her arrival at Mato the greater part of her cargo was landed.

“The prahu was anchored outside the defences across the river, there was another large prahu there, also laden with sago and bound for Sincapore.

“The Serebas pirates captured, plundered, and burnt both these prahus; the crews escaped on shore. The fleet then attacked Mato and were beaten off—there were upwards of one hundred prahus. If it had not been for the booms secured across the river below the town, the place must have been taken; these defences were made to protect the town against the people of Serebas and Sakarran;—the deponent is certain that the fleet was either from Serebas or Sakarran.”

DEPOSITION No. 3.

“ABANG BIT, formerly a Serebas pirate, now a resident at Sarāwak, maketh oath and saith, that it was the ordinary custom of the Serebas and Sakarran people to go out on piratical expeditions, sometimes from the one place, sometimes from the other, and the party going out were in the habit of sending an invitation to the other tribe. The object of these expeditions was to take plunder and to obtain heads. When at sea, they made no difference amongst those they attacked—attacking all whom they could overcome.

“Deponent further saith, that he hath been out very often on piratical expeditions—at least thirty times, that he has often attacked and plundered trading prahus when on those excursions. He deposes to having been present at an attack on Palo near Sambas;—the inhabitants were Chinese; the fleet killed many Chinese and

Malay Fishermen at the entrance of the Sambas River : he was also present at the attack upon Sinkawan when upwards of one hundred Chinese men were killed,—at the capture of Sungie Takong where fifty Chinese were killed,—at the capture of Sungie Biah where one hundred and fifty Chinese were killed,—at Duri one hundred heads were obtained; many other places were also attacked by the Serebas fleets in which deponent was out. The Malays plundered the places captured, and the Dyaks got the heads. All these places were in the Sambas and Pontianak countries; they were not attacked from motives of revenge or in retaliation for injuries received, but for the sake of plunder and heads. Deponent declareth that the people of Serebas do not trade, but when in want of money or slaves go pirating. Deponent hath taken many slaves and plundered with the rest; of those whom he made slaves some are dead and some have been sold; he left Serebas six or seven years ago, but before that lived there from his youth upwards, and he is now an old man.

“Deponent saith that he was present at the destruction of the fleet, at the mouth of the Serebas River, by the force under the command of Capt. Farquhar, and that he is certain they were a Serebas fleet.”

DEPOSITION No. 4.

“ABANG BUYONG maketh oath and saith, that he has frequently been pirating from Serebas, that on those occasions his object was plunder; the Dyaks took heads. They never make any distinction of nation. They had no friends when at sea, and captured all they could conquer. This deponent further saith, that he has been present at the capture of many trading prahus—some were Bruné vessels, some Sambas, and some from the islands, and that he has been present at the attack of many Chinese and other places;—and this

deponent further saith that he was present at the mouth of the Serebas River when the piratical fleet was destroyed by the force under Commander Farquhar. That fleet was from Serebas."

DEPOSITION No. 5.

"ABANG HASSAN, a Sadong Malay, maketh oath and saith, that about ten years ago he resided at Sakarran; during the time he resided there, the people of Sakarran often went out pirating to different parts of the coast; had seen the prahus return bringing back plunder, prisoners, and heads of upwards of one hundred Chinese, and others taken by them about Sambas; had also been out with them himself with one hundred and thirty prahus and attacked Pous, a town in the Pontianak territory; took that place, plundered and burnt it. On another occasion attacked the town of Sassang with one hundred and twenty prahus and took it, killed twenty-five of the inhabitants, and captured thirty women and children. Deponent asserts that at that time several other Malays under Sheriff Saib residing at Sadong also joined the fleet which attacked Sausang. Sheriff Saib compelled them to go. It was not in retaliation for injury done by the parties they attacked that they made these excursions, but because of their love for plunder and heads; at sea they make no distinction whatever. The Sadong people although on terms of friendship with them, if they met at sea they killed. Deponent's father, a Sadong man, was killed by them at the mouth of the Sadong River.

"Deponent on one occasion was on the coast with Sheriff Saib, when he was attacked by two Sakarran prahus—they (the Sakarran people) knew Sheriff Saib and the prahu he was in, which being well armed beat them off. Sheriff Saib was their great friend and abettor.

“Deponent then boarded Sakarran prahus, and asked why they attacked their friends—they replied ‘at home we make a distinction between friends and enemies, but at sea everybody we kill and plunder.’”

DEPOSITION No. 6.

“SUTJONG a Malay, formerly of Sakarran, at present residing in Sarāwak, maketh oath and saith, that he lived for twenty-five years at Sakarran, and that he frequently went out on piratical excursions with the people of that place; that on one occasion they attacked Sungei Purun and took that place and plundered it;—that they killed fifteen Chinese and captured three on another occasion; they destroyed the town at Sungei Pinyu and killed three Malays there; they then attacked Sungei Duri but were beaten off, they only having eight prahus. On another occasion, with eight prahus he attacked Sungei Riah, and captured that place; the inhabitants fled, the town was plundered. On another occasion he attacked the tribe of Sow Dyaks with ninety prahus and defeated them; they killed about 200 men, and captured nearly 200 women and children: that village they also plundered and destroyed.

“Deponent positively asserts that these people of both Serebas and Sakarran do not make these attacks on account of injury done previously by the parties,—they kill, plunder, and destroy any persons whatever they may meet at sea.”

DEPOSITION No. 7.

“SITAL, residing at Sarāwak, maketh oath and saith, that about nine years ago, when on a voyage from Sarāwak to Pontiana in a trading prahu, he was attacked by three Serebas prahus containing

about forty men each ; they captured his boat and sunk her, having first of all plundered everything that was in her. The deponent further saith, that of the crew of seven men all were killed excepting himself ; he (the deponent) was wounded and taken prisoner to Serebas. After being kept there about ten days, he was sold as a slave to a Malay residing at Siriki, and afterwards ransomed by his relatives at Sarāwak.

“ When attacked by the Serebas pirates, the deponent’s prahu was at sea under sail near Tanjong Datu. The Serebas prahus were armed with muskets, spears, and swords, all of which they made use of during the attack.”

DEPOSITION No. 8.

“ ASSING, Chinaman, now residing in Sarāwak, maketh oath and saith, that a few years since he was fishing near the mouth of the Sambas River, in company with another boat, when he was attacked by upwards of thirty Serebas prahus and escaped himself with difficulty, the other boat being taken and three of the crew in her murdered ; he had a small house on shore, which they plundered and burnt.

“ They have very frequently been at the mouth of the Sambas River, and on this particular occasion passed along the coast and took the Chinese town of Sankawan. He positively deposeth these prahus to have been from Serebas, he being well acquainted with their appearance, and that of the people in them, there being no other kind of boats of like appearance cruising along the coast.”

DEPOSITION No. 9.

“ YAKUB, a Bornean, now residing at Sarāwak, maketh oath and saith that he is a fisherman, and was living at the Maratabas entrance

of the Sarāwak River when that place was attacked by the Serebas or Sakarran Dyaks about a month and a half ago. They first attacked three small trading prahus anchored off the village, and captured them; one had a Kling on board who was going to Kaluka; four of the crew were killed, including the Kling; one escaped, by name Sahah. The Dyaks then landed and attacked the village. The deponent ran up into his house, and in going up the ladder was wounded behind the knee by one of the Dyaks with a spear: deponent defended himself in the house, and kept firing at the Dyaks with a musket. The Dyaks burnt two houses, killed altogether six men, wounded four, and captured one woman; they then got into their boats and pulled away in the direction of Sakarran. The deponent is certain they were either Sakarran or Serebas Dyaks, as he is well acquainted with their appearance and also of the prahus they use."

DEPOSITION No. 10.

"LABOO maketh oath and saith, that he was fishing at the entrance of the Maratabas River when the village and boats there were attacked by the Serebas or Sakarran Dyaks. The Dyak prahus were six in number, one very large and five small ones.

"This deponent was on shore in a house at the time they attacked the trading-boats anchored off the village, and saw the attack made and the boats captured. After that the crew of one prahu landed and attacked deponent's house and set fire to it: the deponent fled into the jungle, and the Dyaks plundered everything in his house.

"This deponent further saith he saw the Kling wounded by the Dyaks, who crawled into the house next deponent's and there died.

"That he deposes these prahus to have been either from Serebas or Sakarran.

“ He is well acquainted with the appearance of these Dyaks and the description of prahus they use. Six men were killed and four wounded in the attack ; this attack took place about forty-five days ago.”

DEPOSITION No. 11.

“ LOHOT, a Linga Malay, maketh oath and saith, that about forty-five days ago he was in a small boat, with four persons besides himself, at the Maratabas entrance of the Sarāwak River. At break of day five bankongs, or prahus, came from seaward and attacked their boat. They killed his father and two uncles, and a Kling-man who was a passenger on board. The boat deponent was in was bound to Kaluka, and everything on board of it lost. Deponent alone escaped. The cargo of the boat was piece-goods : he could not observe the size or force of the prahus as he fled, but certainly they were Dyaks of Sakarran or Serebas.”

JUDGE'S CERTIFICATE FOUNDED ON THE ABOVE DEPOSITIONS.

“ I, the Honourable Sir Christopher Rawlinson, Knight, Recorder of Her Majesty's Court of Judicature of the Settlement of Prince of Wales's Island, Sincapore, and Malacca, and one of the Judges of Her Majesty's Court of Admiralty of the said Settlement, do certify, that in pursuance of an application made under the Statute of 6 Geo. IV. cap. 49, entitled, 'An act for encouraging the Capture or destruction of piratical Ships and Vessels,' on the fourteenth day of September last past, to the said Court of Admiralty by Arthur Farquhar, commander of Her Majesty's Sloop-of-war the

Albatross, respecting the capture and destruction of a certain fleet of piratical prahus or vessels off the entrances of the Kaluka and Serebas Rivers, off the coast of Borneo, depositions of certain witnesses were taken before me, and the depositions of other certain other witnesses absent from the jurisdiction of the said Court were taken and received under certain commissions issued by me out of the said Court of Admiralty, touching the same; and that it has been proved to my satisfaction by the evidence so adduced before me, that on the thirty-first day of July, one thousand eight hundred and forty nine, a force under the command of the said Arthur Farquhar, consisting of Her Majesty's sloop *Royalist*, the Honourable East India Company's armed steamer *Nemesis*, and Her Majesty's steam-tender *Ranée*, with a flotilla consisting of the gig, pinnace, and cutter of Her Majesty's said sloop *Albatross*, fitted up as gun-boats and manned by seventy-three officers and men of the said sloop *Albatross*, thirteen officers and men of the said sloop *Royalist*, and seventeen officers and men of the said steamer *Nemesis*, succeeded in capturing or destroying eighty-eight of the said fleet of piratical prahus at the places aforesaid. And I do further certify that the number of piratical persons killed on the said occasion by the said armed force was five hundred, and that the aggregate number of the piratical men forming the crews of the said eighty-eight piratical prahus who were alive on board the said eighty-eight piratical prahus at the beginning of the attack thereof, but who were not taken or killed, could not have been less than two thousand one hundred and forty. In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the said Court to be affixed in Singapore aforesaid, this eighth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-nine.

(Seal)

(Signed)

"CHR. RAWLINSON."

III.

MR. HUME'S LATEST CHARGES AGAINST SIR JAMES BROOKE.

The substance of the most recent charges brought against Sir James Brooke by Mr. Hume, worked out in two or three elaborate letters to the Earl of Malmesbury, may be most concisely seen in the following questions which he submits for his Lordship's consideration. They are to be found in the "Parliamentary Papers" of this year. Mr. Hume is responsible for the grammar as well as the spirit of them :—

" 1. Whether the conduct of Sir James Brooke, in getting possession of Sarāwak from Muda Hassim, under the guns of the *Royalist*, is to be approved of by Her Majesty's Government?

" 2. Whether, having got the possession of Sarāwak in that manner, and also obtained the sanction of the Sultan for a tribute of 2000 dollars, and considering that Sir James Brooke got rid of that tribute under the guns of Sir Thomas Cochrane, and further obtained a new grant from the Sultan when he was in the jungle, and under constraint of the British forces, is not derogatory to a British subject and to a British Government?

" 3. Whether the complaint of the Sultan, that Sir James Brooke has never paid the tribute to him, is consistent with the honour of a British officer and the British Government?

" 4. Whether it is right that Sir James Brooke should be supported in Sarāwak by a British fleet, when he has violated all his agreements with the Sultan, who first sanctioned the possession?

" 5. Whether it is right to keep Sir James Brooke as Her Majesty's Commissioner to the very man he has thus injured, and refused to pay his tribute?

" 6. Whether, as Sir James Brooke holds Sarāwak without any

sanction from the British Government, and without paying the tribute as agreed to, Sir James Brooke should be allowed to hold Her Majesty's Commission any longer?"

An answer in detail to these questions, and to the long elaborations of which they are the finishing touches, would be out of place here; but Mr. Hume may be assured that they can, and will at any proper time, be answered satisfactorily. It must suffice here to state that the charges involved in these questions are built on a perversion of plain facts, and a partial application of isolated passages in my former work, or in that of Captain Mundy. It is hence evident that the refutation of them must be rather long: and I will therefore abstain from any further remark, after observing that the principal offences now alleged against Sir James Brooke are of many years standing—older even than the piracy question: and I still doubt whether the public will admit that it has been "the victim of strange and discreditable delusions," in patronising Sir James Brooke as a respectable character.

IV.

QUESTION OF "TRADING."

There remains one matter of accusation against Sir James Brooke as to which, it being out of my province, I have thought it best to ask him to furnish me with his own explanation. It has been stated that, while he is a servant of the Crown, he is also a "*trader*," which two occupations are held to be incompatible with each other. I have received from Sir James Brooke the following statement, which, as it appears to me, ought to set the question at rest:—

"You ask me for an explanation with reference to the charge that I have been a merchant, whilst holding an office under Govern-

ment, and that my 'mercantile speculations' were opposed to the public interests. If by a merchant is meant a person who buys and sells for his own advantage, then I have never been a merchant at all, and I most distinctly contradict the assertion that I have ever been engaged in 'mercantile speculation,' or pursuit, since my appointment to office in 1847. In the year 1845 I was the unpaid agent of the English Government. In 1847 I was appointed Commissioner, and in January, 1848, became Governor of Labuan. With these dates the following brief narrative will be better understood. In September 1841 it became necessary that a revenue should be raised to support the expenses of the New Government of Sarāwak, and this revenue was realised with the consent of the native chiefs. Owing, however, to the depressed condition of the population, the expenditure considerably exceeded the income; and, in order to supply the deficiency of the public revenue, I (through agents appointed for the purpose, and in accordance with the custom of Malayan rulers) purchased the produce brought by the natives for sale. The entire proceeds derived from this expedient were applied to defray the charges incurred by my unprecedented, but public, position; and the deficiency of the revenue, year after year, was made good from my private fortune. I leave you to decide whether, in the ordinary application of language, it can be said I was trading at all, or trading for profit to be devoted to my own advantage; from the first hour I undertook the government, my desire was to place the revenues of Sarāwak upon a secure basis. After encountering many obstacles, I succeeded in carrying out my views on this subject, and in 1846, the antimony mines, the opium farm, and other inconsiderable items of revenue were leased for five years, and at the same period the trading operations on the public account were finally terminated.

“ In 1849, in consequence of the bankruptcy of the lessees, this

lease reverted to Government; and in 1850 the antimony mines were again let, whilst the opium farm has since continued to be managed by an officer of the Sarāwak Government. To explain the system of revenue pursued in Sarāwak might be tedious here, but such are the two principal sources whence it is derived, and upon which the question may be judged. The antimony mines are analogous to the Crown mines of any other country: the revenue from them accrues from the annual sum paid by the lessees; the rights of individuals, whether European or native, are not violated, nor is the freedom of commerce in any manner infringed by the appropriation of these mines for public purposes; and instead of being as formerly a forced labour-monopoly for private use, they are now applied for the benefit of the people by free labour supply.

“The opium farm is identical in principle, and not materially different in its operation from the opium farm in the British settlements. It is a farm for the purposes of revenue on the retail sale of opium; and the right of retail sale rests in the Government, and is let to a farmer, or if a farmer cannot be found is superintended by a government officer. I may add to this brief explanation, that the revenue system of Sarāwak, although probably not the best that could be devised in theory, is suited to the state of society; is, conjointly with myself, administered by the native chiefs; and is not complained of by the people; and it must be clear that a public revenue, realized as I have described, and applied to public purposes, cannot be termed a ‘mercantile speculation’ in which I am personally engaged. If the revenues of Sarāwak cover the annual expenses of the Government I am content; and if at any time one branch of the revenue should be superseded, the deficit would be supplied by some other tax imposed on the people; but it could in no way affect my personal

interests, excepting as it affected the prosperity of the country. I have expended a very considerable sum from a limited private fortune to maintain the government of Sarāwak, and to relieve the sufferings of its people; I boldly affirm that the security and happiness of a large population now depend upon the Government: I have refrained from imposing taxes even to repay the sum I have laid out; and at this present moment the revenue barely meets the expenditure, and the country is burdened with a debt. I have expended the greater portion of the salary I have received from the English Government to advance public objects; I have made sacrifices in which I glory, and I have gained nothing, but the love of a rude, and noble people. After a life of danger, privation and pecuniary sacrifice, I feel the hardship of being called a trader—one engaged in ‘mercantile speculations’ contrary to duty, and to honour, and contrary to the interests of the public. I will make good what I have now advanced whenever I am called upon, and prove that a public revenue cannot be confounded without injustice with private trade, and that I have never been engaged in any ‘mercantile speculations’ or pursuit since my appointment to office in the year 1847.”

V.

PRODUCTIONS OF NORFOLK ISLAND.

The subjoined list of woods, and brief description of some of the plants and shrubs growing on Norfolk Island, may not be found uninteresting. As will be seen, they are of various degrees of usefulness. There is no near prospect of any of them running out, and in fact the island is still almost half bush, within which young trees of most kinds are shooting up to supply the place of those cut down. Yet coal should be now sent in considerable proportions for

the forges. Making charcoal on the island uses up most extravagantly the best hard timber, and the practice of tanning should be discontinued, and the hides salted and sent to head quarters.

The Cherry Tree, the bark of which is used for tanning, is one of the most useful woods, and it is decreasing rapidly by being stripped of its bark, and so left to perish.

The Norfolk Island Pine (*Altingia excelsa*) is seen 100 feet above the other forest trees, and resembles the Norway spruce, but its tiers are more distant. Its timber is not of good quality, as it soon rots when exposed to the weather, and the teredo, or auger worm, makes fearful ravages in the fences made of this timber, which seldom stand three years. It is generally used for building purposes, flooring, partitions, &c.; and when kept dry and not exposed to the weather, it is more durable. *The Pine* (*Araucaria excelsa*) is also used for the same purposes, and is precisely of the same quality, but not so lofty as the former.

The Blood Wood (*Croton sanguisfluina*) is of little value except for firewood, but on an incision being made in the bark, a fluid exudes which is used for marking the convicts' slops, staining furniture, &c., and it is a good tonic and astringent.

Hop Wood (*Dordonea orientalis*) does not attain to more than a foot in diameter, and is principally used for veneering and turning ornaments.

Iron Wood (*Notelæa longifolia*) is used in all wheel-wright's work, and is very hard and durable. It is also used for cabinet-work, and, when French-polished, it is not excelled by any of the fancy woods.

Maple (*Acer Dobinea*) is also very handsome, and used for cabinet work.

Hard Yellow Wood (*Blackburnia pirmata*) is much used for making household furniture.

White Oak (*Hibiscus Patersonii*) a shady tree forty feet high. Its leaves are a whitish green, sepals green and petals pink, fading to white, and the size of a small wine glass. It is the largest of the mallow tribe, and attains sixteen feet in circumference. In an economic sense it is valueless, except for firewood.

The Norfolk Island Cabbage Tree (*Seaforthia sapida*) is a handsome palm, about twenty feet high and two feet in circumference, green and smooth, with annular scars left by the fallen leaves: the frondes form a magnificent crest at the top of the column; they are pectinate, about nineteen feet long, and they vary from nine to fifteen in number. The apex of the trunk is enclosed in the sheathing bases of the leaf-stalks, along with the flower-buds and young leaves. When the leaves fall they discover double-compressed sheaths, pointed at the upper extremity, which split open indiscriminately on the upper or under side, and fall off, leaving a branched spadix or flower-stem, which is the colour of ivory, and attached by a broad base to the trunk. The flowers are produced upon the spadix; they are very small, and are succeeded by round seeds, red internally. As the seeds advance towards maturity, the spadix becomes green. The young unfolded leaves rise perpendicularly in the centre of the crest. In this state they are used for making hats; those still unprotruded and remaining enclosed within the sheaths of the older leaves form a white mass, as thick as a man's arm: they are eaten raw, boiled, or pickled. In a raw state they taste like a nut, and boiled they resemble artichoke bottoms.

The Norfolk Island Grass Tree (*Freycinetia baueriana*) is a remarkable production. It belongs to the tribe of Pandanæ or Screw pines. Its stem is marked by rings, like the cabbage tree, where the old leaves have fallen off, and it lies on the ground, or climbs like ivy round the trees. The branches are crowned with

crests of broad sedge-like leaves, from the centre of which the flowers arise, the petals of which are a bright scarlet, and the sepals green, and when they fall off clusters of three or four oblong pulpy fruit, four inches in length, and as much in circumference, appear.

The *Tree Fern* (*Alsophila excelsa*) measures forty feet in height, and has a magnificent crest of frondes. The black portion of the trunk is used for stringing by cabinet-makers.

The *Tree Fern* (*Cyathea medularis*) is about twenty feet in height the frondes of which are eleven feet in length, and present the same beautiful appearance as the former. Another beautiful *Tree Fern* (*Marattia elegans*) has frondes fourteen feet in length, seven feet of which are destitute of branches; of these it has eight and a half pairs, which are again branched and clothed with leaflets five inches long, and three-quarters of an inch broad.

The *Norfolk Island Bread-fruit* (*Charlwoodia australis*) attains twenty feet in height; it branches from within a few feet of the ground, and forms several heads, with flag-like leaves, and long-branched spikes of greenish star-flowers, succeeded by whitish or bluish purple berries that are eaten by parrots.

Botyodendrium latifolium, a shrub of singular form, allied to the Ivy, but of a very different appearance, prevails near the coast. Its figure may be compared to a long-leaved cabbage, mounted on a broomstick. The stem is about fifteen feet high, and five inches round; its largest leaves are about two feet long, and one foot broad. The fruit is a dense cluster of greenish purple berries, not edible, produced in the centre of the crown of leaves.

The *Norfolk Island Spice* (*Piper psittacorum*) attains the height of ten feet, and has cane-like joints, and heart-shaped leaves. It produces a yellow, pulpy, pendant, cylindrical fruit of a spicy, sweetish taste, which is an excellent preserve, and, if gathered green,

it is equally good pickled. The leaf bears great resemblance to that of the *Pan*, or beetle creeper of the East Indies.

The fruits grown in the garden are, the *Peach*, a very inferior kind, but the tree growing vigorously is thus calculated to make an excellent stock. The *Almond*, of two inferior kinds; one with a very hard shell, the other with one a little softer, yet still also hard.

The *Quince*, a good stock, but likewise of inferior quality.

Several varieties of *Apple*, much affected by an island blight.

Vines, of sorts which all grow freely, and might be cultivated to considerable perfection.

Pine-apples, which grow and fruit well, but of inferior quality.

Banana, small and good.

Strawberries excellent, but the plants must be renewed yearly, like other plants on the island, never resting, and being thus soon exhausted.

Raspberries have been tried, and grow vigorously, but do not fruit.

The *White Mulberry* (*Morus alba*) is wild, but does not fruit, and an experiment made by Mrs. Machonochie, of feeding silkworms on the leaves, fully succeeded. One young English mulberry-tree, a young walnut-tree, and about ninety vines of superior cuttings, introduced also by Mrs. Maconochie, are in the Government House garden, and are all promising, but quite young, having only been introduced within the last two years.

The wild fruits (not indigenous) are the guava, lemon, lime, citron (very rare), orange (a great many were destroyed by order of Major Morrisett), and Cape gooseberry abundant. All these grow freely when unmolested in the bush; but when planted out, all, excepting the last, are much subject to the same blight with the apple.

Melons and *Pumpkins* of all kinds thrive well, as also *coffee*, which fruits abundantly, and of good quality.

Most English vegetables are on the island, and, excepting that they require a frequent change of seed, they in the main grow well.

The common potato, turnip, carrot, cabbages, cauliflowers, onions, leeks, lettuces, beans, peas, rhubarb, asparagus, are all good. It is garden culture and cropping, indeed, that generally suits the island best,—crops only a short time in the ground, with frequent renewing of light manure, constant cleanliness, and a due regard to shelter. When these are combined, and quality of return is sought, rather than mere quantity, the cultivator will seldom be disappointed.

Of tropical vegetables there are three,—the sweet potato, arrow-root, and South Sea tara. The latter is indigenous, and is found on the banks of all the creeks. The two former are cultivated extensively, particularly the sweet potato, which is the chief article of food used by the prisoners, and attains an enormous size. The arrow-root when properly prepared is not inferior to any grown elsewhere.

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